Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-038
Friday
26 February 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-038 *26 February 1988*

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Balkan Foreign Minister Meeting Continues 1
Participants Listed *[BORBA 24 Feb]* 1
ATA Reports First Day 1
Morning Session Held *[TANJUG]* 1
Morning Session Ends *[TANJUG]* 2
Foreign Ministers Hold Bilateral Meetings *[TANJUG]* 3
Yilmaz, Mladenov Meet *[Ankara]* 3
Malile, Totu Meet *[Tirana]* 4
Albanian, Turkish Delegations Meet *[TANJUG]* 4
Papoulias, Yilmaz Meet *[Athens]* 4
Papoulias Interviewed *[BORBA 23 Feb]* 4
Loncar, Mladenov Meet *[TANJUG]* 6
Loncar, Papoulias Meet *[TANJUG]* 6
Loncar, Totu Meet *[TANJUG]* 7
Malile Meets With Counterparts *[Tirana]* 7
Mladenov Meets With Counterparts *[BTA]* 7
Totu Meets With Counterparts *[AGERPRES]* 8
Officials Assess Conference, Bilateral Talks 8
Yilmaz on Balkan Relations *[TANJUG]* 8
Loncar, Yilmaz Discuss Meeting *[TANJUG]* 8
Loncar, Malile Discuss Relations *[TANJUG]* 9
Final Session Held; Communique Issued 9
Final Session Begins *[TANJUG]* 9
Balkan Meeting Ends *[TANJUG]* 9
Loncar Previews Communique *[TANJUG]* 9
Balkan Ministers Adopt Communique *[TANJUG]* 10

BULGARIA

Ivan Ganev Comments On Belgrade Conference *[OTECHESTVEN FRONT 24 Feb]* 12
Turkish Allowed as Gesture Before Conference *[GUNAYDIN 19 Feb]* 13
Ovcharov Signs Cooperation Accord in Bonn 13
Press Marks Soviet Army Anniversary 14
Atanasov Meets USSR Medical Industry Minister 16
Zhivkov Greets Spanish CP Leader on Election *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 24 Feb]* 16
Bread Production Shortcomings Noted in Pernik *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 24 Feb]* 16

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Further on Soviet Missile Withdrawal 18
Preparing Missiles for Removal 18
Missiles Loaded Onto Trains 18
Further Report 19
Withdrawal Assessed 20
Early Western Withdrawal Urged *[RUDE PRAVO 26 Feb]* 20
Government Discusses Foreign Policy, Economy 20
'Victorious February' 40th Anniversary Noted 21
Vaclavik's 'Order of the Day' 21
Jakes Addresses Rally 21
Further Report 24
Lenart Addresses Bratislava Rally 24

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Further Coverage of Soviet Missile Withdrawal *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24 Feb]* 25
Soviet Troops Leave Waren 25
Further Report 25
Opponents of Disarmament Criticized *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23 Feb]* 26
Honecker Addresses Premnitz Workers 26

HUNGARY

Continued Reportage on Gromyko Visit 29
Council on Visit 29
Talks, News Conference Held 29
Gromyko's Address Outlined 30
Gromyko Speaks 31
Varkonyi Received by Indonesian President 32
Miklos Nemeth Holds Talks With FRG's Kohl 33
State of German National Minority Discussed *[MAGYAR NEMZET 20 Feb]* 33
Medgyessy Outlines Stabilization Program *[NEPSZABADSAG 20 Feb]* 33
Attitude to Church, Believers Evaluated *[Balint in MAGYAR HIRLAP 19 Feb]* 37
Artists' Representation Abroad To Change 38

POLAND

Gorbachev Plans Official Midyear Visit *[AFP]* 39
Foreign Ministry Spokesman's News Conference 39
Delegation Ends Talks With FRG Officials 41
Orzechowski Meets Indian Finance Minister 42
Concludes New Delhi Visit 42
Weekly Views U.S. Jews, Anti-Semitism *[Sandauer in POLITYKA 13 Feb]* 42
Authorities Deny Solidarity Leader Passport *[AFP]* 43
Youths Demonstrate in Support of Solidarity *[Hamburg DPA]* 43
Messner Attends OPZZ Executive Session 44
Further on Joint Session 44
Spanish Daily Interviews PZPR's Wasilewski *[Madrid YA 22 Feb]* 45
Party Organ on Economy's Private Sector *[Swiecicki in NOWE DROGI 21 Dec 87]* 46
Party Secretary Discusses Sociopolitical Life *[POLITYKA 13 Feb]* 48
Press Cited on Revisionists, Stalinists *[POLITYKA 20 Feb]* 48

ROMANIA

Paper Comments on Belgrade Balkan Meeting 49
Cooperation, Trust Advocated *[ROMANIA LIBERA 23 Feb]* 49
Dascalescu Receives USSR's Vedernikov 51
Ceausescu, Dascalescu Greet CSSR Leaders 51

YUGOSLAVIA

Gwiazda Meets Mikulic; Talks With Poland End *[PAP]* 53
FEC Decides To Close Some Embassies in Africa 53
Upcoming LCY Conference To Examine Role 53
SAWPY Presidium Session Meets 25 Feb 53
Hears Mikulic Address 53
Views Economy, Attacks on Army 54
MLADINA Article on Mamula Ethiopian Visit *[MLADINA No. 6 12 Feb]* 55
Slovene Youth Presidium Debates MLADINA *[POLITIKA 24 Feb]* 56
Slovene Defense Body Calls Attacks Groundless 56
Journalists on BORBA-POLITIKA Polemics *[BORBA 15 Feb]* 57
Macedonian Conference 'Denounces' Split Media 58
Daily Views Trade Union Activity *[Simonovic in BORBA 19 Feb]* 59
Macedonian Assembly Criticizes Vlasi *[BORBA 24 Feb]* 60

Balkan Foreign Minister Meeting Continues

Participants Listed

AU251011 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Participants in the Conference"]

[Text] Albania: Reis Malile, foreign minister; Muhamet Ismail Kapllani; Piro Spiro Bita; Kujtim Kemal Hysenaj; Vladimir Rakip Prela; Petrak Koste Pojani; Gudar Hysni Toto; Mirosh Zyhni Sako.

Bulgaria: Petur Mladenov, foreign minister; Ivan Ganev; Stefan Staykov; Boris Dzhibrov; Lyubomir Shapov; Evgeni Aleksandrov;

Greece: Karolos Papoulias, foreign minister; Konstandinos Yeoryiou; Emmanouil Spiridhakis; Dhimitrios Makris; Alexandros Vayenas; Ioannis Bourloyiannis-Tsangaridhis; Nikolaos Kalantzianos; Mika Konidhari; Vasilios Konstandineas; Yeoryios Dhimitrakopoulos.

Romania: Ioan Totu, foreign minister; Dumitru Popa; Lucian Petrescu; Petre Vlasceanu; Gheorghe Duta; Mihai Dinucu; Ion Macovei.

Turkey: Mesut Yilmaz, foreign minister; Nizet Kandemir; Mustafa Aksin; Nirver Nires; Inal Batu; Onur Oymen; Omer Akbal; Erdim Tizel; Umur Apaydin; Ali Karaosmanglu; Tasin Burkuglu; Mehmet Ali Irtemselik; Takan Ildem; Mumtaz Soysal. [spelling of Turkish names as published]

Yugoslavia: Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Trajko Trajkovski; Ilija Djukic; Milivoje Maksic; Kazimir Vidas; Borut Bote; Cvijeto Job; Darko Silovic; Zarko Tomasevic; Radomir Bogdanovic.

ATA Reports First Day

AU251501 Tirana ATA in French 0915 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Tirana, 25 Feb (ATA)—The meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries began its proceedings at the Sava Center in Belgrade on the morning of 24 February. Taking part in the meeting were the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, led by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; the delegation of the Republic of Greece, led by Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs; the delegation of the SR of Romania, led by Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey, led by Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs; and the delegation of the SFRY, led by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The conference was opened by Budimir Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs. Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, greeted the ministers of foreign affairs taking part as representing countries and peoples who have lived for centuries as neighbors. He expressed the wish that the meeting of foreign ministers will contribute to good-neighborly relations and to the further development of reciprocal cooperation in all fields of common interest.

The conference approved its agenda. After Budimir Loncar, as minister of foreign affairs of the host country, was elected by those taking part to the position of chairman of the conference, the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries delivered their speeches.

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was the first to take the floor. His speech aroused lively interest among diplomatic circles and the many representatives of the world press following the proceedings of the conference. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, also took the floor at the morning session.

Before the conference reassembled, Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, received the ministers of foreign affairs of the participating countries.

At the start of the afternoon session, Budimir Loncar, the chairman of the conference, announced that the meeting of foreign ministers of the Balkan countries had received messages of greeting from Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; from Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the UN; from Todor Zhivkov, president of the Bulgarian State Council; from Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece; and from Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania. Karolos Papoulias, Greek minister of foreign affairs; Ioan Totu, Romanian minister of foreign affairs; Mesut Yilmaz, Turkish minister of foreign affairs; and Budimir Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, then took the floor. The plenary session then concluded.

Budimir Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, gave a reception in honor of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries on the evening of 24 February. Raif Dizdarevic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, and other officials were also present at this reception.

Morning Session Held

LD251310 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0939 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The foreign ministers of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia met again today in the Sava Center in Belgrade. In contrast to yesterday's meeting, which was public and at which the ministers expressed the views of

their governments on the expansion of Balkan cooperation, today's meeting is being held behind closed doors. It is believed that the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries will discuss the concrete proposals made yesterday on the expansion and strengthening of cooperation. In accordance with an agreement, Budimir Loncar, our federal secretary for foreign affairs, is chairing today's meeting.

Assessing yesterday's meeting, observers point to the constructive and working atmosphere, which clearly indicated the seriousness with which the ministers and their governments have approached this meeting. Unofficially, it has been learned that the foreign ministers of one or two countries have already met this morning, exchanging views before the formal beginning of the closed plenum.

Individual concrete proposals, which without doubt will be discussed in the Sava Center today, have attracted the special attention of journalists. No one in the delegations is claiming that they all will be adopted, but they are assessed as representing a very good basis for concrete negotiation.

Analysis of yesterday's speeches by the ministers of the six Balkan countries shows that this time, at least publicly, they avoided delicate topics on which the differences, for the time being, are so great that any public debate would merely hamper attempts at rapprochement in the Balkans. It is believed that there are good prospects for a platform to be established in Belgrade for making concrete decisions concerning economic cooperation, as well as cooperation deals in the fields of electric power, communications, and tourism.

Informed sources allege that an informal working paper will be submitted this morning that contains a summary of the proposals on which there is more or less agreement. The basic thing that can be heard in the circles of all the delegations is the emphatic desire to maintain the continuity of the Balkan negotiating process. To this end, note is made of the proposals by some countries, including Yugoslavia, to expand Balkan cooperation by meetings of ministers and experts with other portfolios.

In the Sava Center, it is assessed that some kind of working agreement on cooperation in the field of communications is in sight, as the basis for cooperation in other fields. Similar evaluations can be heard when reference is made to cooperation in the field of electric power, tourism.

In accordance with an agenda established in advance, ministers and experts of all the delegations will work during the day on formulating the final "paper" which, it has been learned, will be brief but rich in content, and will contain the basic guidelines for the future cooperation among the Balkan countries.

Morning Session Ends

LD251325 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The foreign ministers of the six Balkan countries ended this morning's session after only a 1-hour exchange of views. At the session, they summed up the standpoints expressed in yesterday's debate and elaborated some questions that came out in the speeches yesterday.

It has been learned that in the opening part of the meeting federal secretary for foreign affairs Budimir Loncar, who was presiding, summed up the standpoints expressed so far.

In the circles of the delegations of the Balkan countries, it is said that on this occasion Loncar noted "the obvious spirit of goodwill" that prevailed during yesterday's meeting. Moreover, there was a unanimous belief among the delegations that this morning's meeting, too, was businesslike, constructive, and represented a continuation of yesterday's approach with the desire to discover the best roads and solutions for better cooperation in the Balkans. [Passage omitted]

Taking part in this morning's debate were all the foreign ministers who, it has been learned, in essence stressed some of the standpoints from the speeches they made yesterday and explained them in more detail. What is common to all these statements, according to the same sources, is the readiness of the countries participating to take part in the implementation of the proposals that will contribute to better economic, political, and humanitarian cooperation in the field of the protection of the human environment, which also was assessed as very significant.

There also was discussion of the need for a meeting of ministers with portfolio, and in this framework, it has been learned, Turkey proposed that it play host to the industry ministers of the Balkan countries. Bulgaria is prepared to see the signing in Sofia of a Balkan agreement on the protection of the environment as early as next year.

There also was discussion of the possible meeting of the Balkan heads of state, with nuances and differences in the assessment as to when such a meeting might be possible. Some, it has been learned, expressed the view that certain preconditions for this have been fulfilled already, while others took the view that there should be not only the creation of a political atmosphere in relations in the Balkans, but also the realization of concrete results on the basis of what has been agreed on in Belgrade and what will result from this meeting, and then an assessment of the opportunities for such a meeting.

In a similar way, there were differing shades of opinion on the ministerial meeting. It was not disputed that the foreign ministers should meet and that these meetings probably will become regular, perhaps every other year. However, it was said that at the next ministerial meeting quite concrete questions should be placed on the agenda, while in the meantime an action program should be elaborated and trouble should be taken to see that it is carried out, confirming the priorities for cooperation in all fields.

On the whole, the relatively brief meeting this morning was full of constructiveness and expressions of readiness for fresh efforts to develop cooperation on a stable basis. All the stances in some way fitted in with the assessment made by one of the participants in the exchange of views (Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias) that this meeting, for cooperation in the Balkans, is historic.

Foreign Ministers Hold Bilateral Meetings

LD251209 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—This afternoon the Balkan meeting will be given over to the work of a group of experts who should draw up a list of all the initiatives contained in the speeches of the ministers in the general debate on the first day of the Belgrade forum, but also in bilateral meetings of the heads of the delegations.

So far, there have been meetings between the foreign ministers of Bulgaria and Turkey (Petur Mladenov and Mesut Yilmaz signed a protocol on the resolution of controversial issues), Bulgaria and Greece, and Greece and Turkey.

TANJUG has learned that during the afternoon all the heads of the delegations plan to have meetings with other colleagues, but not one delegation is certain yet of when the planned contacts will take place.

Yilmaz, Mladenov Meet

TA241214 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1100 GMT 24 Feb 88

[Text] The Balkan Foreign Ministers Conference has begun in Belgrade, the Yugoslav capital. Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz met again with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov today. Turkish Radio and Television [TRT] correspondent Muzaffer Baca reports from Belgrade:

Today's talks between Yilmaz and Mladenov lasted an hour. Issues on the implementation of the protocol signed between the two countries yesterday came up during the talks.

In a statement to TRT following the talks, Yilmaz said that the participants in the two joint working groups to be established by Turkey and Bulgaria and a schedule for their meetings were determined. He said that the political working group, which will deal with the humanitarian issue and related topics, will be composed of foreign ministry officials and will be headed by the under secretaries of the ministries.

He added that the second working group, which will discuss economic, technical, and scientific cooperation, will be headed by the Turkish Foreign Ministry deputy economic affairs under secretary and a Bulgarian minister. He said that this group will comprise officials from the Transportation Ministry, the Treasury and Trade Undersecretariat, the State Planning Organization, the Culture and Foreign Ministry, the Union of Chambers, and other related institutions.

He said that the groups will hold their first meetings between 5 and 14 May in Ankara and Sofia simultaneously on 2 specific days to be determined later on. He explained that the political group will meet in Sofia, while the economic and technical cooperation group will meet in Ankara.

Yilmaz noted that it was agreed that in their first meetings, the working groups will determine the topics to be dealt with, will draw up the agenda, and will (?review) the problems, adding that the actual work will begin only in the second round of meetings.

He also pointed out that agreement was reached on a meeting of the two foreign ministers, probably in July, following the second round of talks. Yilmaz will go to Sofia at that time at Mladenov's invitation.

Yilmaz continued: We have told the other side that engaging in this process in no way affects our fundamental views regarding the humanitarian problems between the two countries, and that these views will be maintained without any change.

The Bulgarian side, on the other hand, pointed out that substantial amendments to Bulgarian laws and regulations, including the Constitution, within the framework of the Helsinki Final Act are under consideration and that this development would contribute to the solution of the problems between the two countries.

In conclusion, this was a beneficial meeting from our viewpoint.

Yilmaz later held brief talks with Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, Romanian Foreign Minister Ioan Totu, and Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile, and then entered the conference room.

The Balkan foreign ministers were received in the conference room by Yugoslav President Lazar Mojsov, who delivered the opening address. Recalling that in the past the Balkans have been the scene of various wars and conflicts, Mojsov called for all this to be forgotten for the sake of the future. He expressed his belief that despite the various

differences in culture, language, religion, and sociopolitical structures in the area, an atmosphere of cooperation at the conference will greatly contribute to regional peace and stability. To realize this, he called on all Balkan countries to work for joint security and peace, disregarding their differences and within the framework of a new approach directed toward multifaceted cooperation.

He concluded by saying that cooperation in the Balkans can be promoted by basing it on sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, respect for territorial integrity, and on granting all peoples in the area, without discrimination, all rights stipulated in the UN Human Rights Charter and the Helsinki Final Act.

The Balkan conference was still in session as this report was being prepared. Yilmaz is expected to address the conference this afternoon and to meet with the Yugoslav foreign minister for talks.

Malile, Totu Meet

AU251516 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] The meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries continues its proceedings. This morning's session took place behind closed doors for an exchange of ideas between the participants. A number of bilateral meetings took place between the sittings. Our foreign minister, Reis Malile, met today with Ioan Totu, foreign minister of the SR of Romania. They exchanged opinions, mainly on the meeting of the Balkan foreign ministers, and particularly on questions of interest to both countries. They talked about the existing relations between Albania and Romania, and their further development.

Albanian, Turkish Delegations Meet

LD251531 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1338 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 25 (TANJUG)—Today's meeting between the Turkish and Albanian delegations, at the meeting of the Balkan foreign ministers here, was marked by the two countries' efforts further to improve political, economic, cultural and other relations.

Turkish delegation sources stressed that for years Ankara and Tirana have had no bilateral problems, which they see as a precondition for new high-level meetings. [sentence as received]

A similar appraisal was made by the members of the Albanian delegation, who said that the Balkans was central to their meeting. The Albanian side also stressed a desire to continue developing comprehensive relations with Turkey.

Papoulias, Yilmaz Meet

NC251125 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1030 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias and Turkish Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz met for about 45 minutes this morning. The meeting took place on the sidelines of the Balkan foreign ministers conference in Belgrade, now in its 2d day. After his talk with Yilmaz, Papoulias told the press that he and the Turkish foreign minister had touched on two or three points relating to the opportunities for cooperation propounded at the Balkan foreign ministers conference.

In addition, they discussed matters connected with the meeting between the Greek and Turkish prime ministers due to take place in Brussels in early March. Papoulias said that he will have another meeting with his Turkish counterpart before the Brussels conference so that they may discuss disarmament issues.

In conclusion, Papoulias stated that he and Yilmaz discussed the meeting of the political committee that will convene in late May, as agreed in Davos.

Papoulias Interviewed

AU251510 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 88 pp 1, 6

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Karolos Papoulias, foreign minister of Greece, by Jelka Djuric: "Peninsula of Good Hope"—date and place not given]

[Text] Athens, 22 Feb—Achieving progress through peaceful and creative cooperation is in the Balkans' common and greatest interest, Karolos Papoulias, foreign minister of Greece, said in an exclusive interview to BORBA.

The Greek foreign minister—who participated in all stages of the evolution and presentation of Greek views during preparations for the meeting of the Balkan countries foreign ministers in Belgrade—assesses the forthcoming gathering as a "historic event" and a "historic moment" in the Balkans.

Cooperation As Protection [subhead]

[Djuric] As a Mediterranean country and a country on the Balkan Peninsula that for centuries has been a crossroads for communication between Europe and Asia, what does Greece believe holds priority in the future cooperation in the Balkans?

[Papoulias] Your question refers to the most important aspect of the Balkan Peninsula, that is, to its geopolitical position. It is in fact the strategic position of the Balkans, as a crossroads, as you said of communications between Europe and Asia, between the east and the west Mediterranean, that has attracted the conflicting interests of major powers for centuries. The obvious conclusion from this is that holding priority for cooperation in the

Balkans is the creation of a feeling of Balkan interdependence, Balkan togetherness, and a Balkan outlook whose aim is to protect our peninsula from the above-mentioned interests. It is also important for the Balkan countries to extract the full economic benefit from the peninsula's position through closer mutual cooperation. However, the details should be worked out by experts. They are the ones who should point out "technical" variants. [end Papoulias]

That Greece has carefully worked out its packet of ideas for experts was confirmed by Papoulias at a press conference for domestic journalists that we also attended the day after this interview. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has made detailed preparations and the Greek delegation will come to Belgrade with specific proposals.

It was officially announced that a number of initiatives, among which is the idea of creating "some kind of Balkan common market," will be started. The ministers' debate should, in the Greek Government's official view, turn toward "searching for ways to develop Balkan cooperation in the sectors of economy, trade, tourism, power engineering, ecology, and science and technology."

Mediterranean "Continent" [subhead]

[Djuric] Greece is a Mediterranean country, as is Yugoslavia. We ask Minister Papoulias what relationship he sees between the efforts for better understanding and richer cooperation in the Balkans and the similar strivings existing in the Mediterranean?

[Papoulias] Greece welcomes and supports every striving toward peaceful cooperation among peoples living on the Mediterranean. My country has always attached special significance to the Mediterranean dimension of Greek foreign policy. On the other hand, there is no doubt that all progress in Balkan cooperation constitutes an essential, even if indirect, contribution to Mediterranean cooperation. A Greek writer who lives in the FRG used the expression "the Mediterranean continent," eloquently alluding to the polymorphic and magic nature of this historic sea. Achieving practical and functional cooperation on this "continent" demands much more effort, time, and patience than is the case of the Balkan Peninsula. We have been striving for years toward Balkan cooperation. We are sufficiently realistic to continue on the same course. On the other hand, Mediterranean cooperation is by no means out of sight. We are a Mediterranean people, and as such we are sufficiently optimistic so as not to give up. In fact, some positive signals have already appeared. We will constantly encourage all initiatives in this direction.

[Djuric] After the Washington agreement between the two superpowers, one gets the impression that the gaps and the walls between the two blocs have decreased. Will this be reflected in the Balkans, and will the Balkan countries that belong to the two blocs include this positive trend in their approaches to good-neighborliness in the Balkans?

[Papoulias] I spoke earlier about the need to protect relations in the Balkans from foreign interference. This stance logically implies the empirical truth that relations on our peninsula are to a certain extent conditioned by the atmosphere that prevails in international politics. In my opinion, it is not only natural for the positive outcome of the Washington agreement to affect Balkan policy, but it is also and particularly our duty to use this opportunity in this especially sensitive part of Europe and expand our cooperation even more. In this context we believe that signing the agreement limiting intermediate-range nuclear weapons justifies our present efforts to create a nuclear-free zone in this region.

[Djuric] It is obvious that Greece, as a NATO member and as of this year also an EC member, is playing an increasingly important role in Europe. How can one make use of the links your country has as an opportunity to broaden Balkan cooperation?

[Papoulias] You are completely right in stressing our special responsibility as the only Balkan country that is a member both of the EC and NATO. I will not go into details. I would rather remind you of the goals of these two organizations: The EC stands for culture, economic progress, and political integration, and NATO stands for security. In my opinion, as a member of both the EC and NATO, we must do all we can to further the cooperation in the Balkans through preserving the atmosphere of detente and strengthening European cultural identity. [end Papoulias]

Heritage for the 21st Century [subhead]

The luggage that Minister Papoulias is carrying to Belgrade includes the Greek view that a body—such as a "standing secretariat"—should be set up at the conference that will remain after the conference concludes, that there is a possibility that Balkan foreign ministers will meet every 2 years, as well as that the Belgrade meeting can be followed by a meeting of Balkan countries' heads of states or governments.

[Djuric] When talking about Balkan cooperation, one has thoughts of the past and lessons learned from history, as well as thoughts of creating a new spirit, new tolerance, and a new feeling of the interrelationship of the destinies of peoples living in this region. What can the period of time until the end of this century leave for the generations to come in the 21st century?

[Papoulias] Looking at history, one can see that considerable progress has been achieved in the relations between the Balkan countries. [end Papoulias]

Nevertheless, Papoulias stresses, much more can be done in this respect during the years that remain in this century, so that we will be able to guarantee the coming generations a peaceful and prosperous future.

[Djuric] Journalists have remarked that for a meeting such as this one in Belgrade to suceed, it is important for the participants to set out for it without the problems they have with each others and to bring along good will and the desire for better understanding to be created, so that cooperation can be expanded in those spheres where there are joint interests. As a politician, Mr Papoulias, do you share this view?

[Papoulias] I certainly do. As a politician I would remind you that it is our first and foremost duty to avoid conflicts between participating countries that would occur if the existing problems were taken up. Our common and greatest interest on the Balkan Peninsula is to achieve progress through peaceful and efficient cooperation. Striving for this aim, we have the chance to reduce to the smallest extent and eventually settle all disagreements, wherever and whenever they may exist.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Good Will For Belgrade [subhead]

When visiting Athens recently, we had an opportunity to read the official statement that the "Greek Government has decided to do everything it can to ensure the success of the Belgrade meeting." It was said about the meeting that "it should undoubtedly contribute to the consolidation of peaceful climate and permanent security in the region, as well as open new prospects in relations within the Balkans."

It is also added in connection to this good hope that the cooperation in the region is "one of the main aims of Greek policy." Minister Papoulias also stressed this Greek view himself, also pointing to the factor of mutual influence between the Balkans and Europe.

Loncar, Mladenov Meet

LD261304 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1054 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today had talks with Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian foreign minister. The meeting of the two ministers was described in Yugoslav delegation circles as cordial, very open, and constructive.

The exchange of views between Loncar and Mladenov included the development of the two countries' relations and the work of the Belgrade Balkan ministerial meeting.

The two sides noted that the development of Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations has recently been marked by an upward trend. There was also discussion about some open issues that burden relations between the two countries. They also stressed, however, that in an atmosphere of good, friendly relations these issues cannot objectively be "frozen." However, in keeping with the positive spirit of the Belgrade meeting of Balkan countries, they can and should be tackled gradually by joint efforts. [words indistinct] should be sought on the basis of the two countries' interests.

Loncar and Mladenov also talked about future contacts between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria at the highest level and about the consolidation of the dialogue in all areas of mutual cooperation. Within this framework they assessed as successful economic, cultural, scientific and cooperation in other fields. Both countries agree that conditions and needs exist to raise the existing level of overall relations and cooperation between the two countries.

Ministers Loncar and Mladenov pointed out that the Balkan meeting at the Sava Center is leading toward an atmosphere of good mutual cooperation with a high degree of understanding and trust among the participating countries, as well as respect for their different international status and other differences resulting from such status.

Loncar, Papoulias Meet

LD251754 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1704 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, had a long conversation this afternoon on essential questions concerning the content of the Balkan foreign ministers meeting and the development of relations between Yugoslavia and Greece.

The two ministers noted that the meeting was proceeding in a very constructive atmosphere with enhanced efforts on the part of all delegations toward the consolidation of Balkan cooperation. They also stated that there existed a high degree of agreement regarding the proposals of Yugoslavia and Greece concerning economic and transport cooperation and cooperation in ecology and tourism, as well as a joint readiness to implement the decisions of the ministerial meeting in a concrete and thorough way. This especially refers to the setting up of special bodies, institutions, and groups of experts to deal with the promotion of comprehensive cooperation among the Balkan countries.

Budimir Loncar and Karolos Papouilas devoted special attention to economic cooperation between their two countries and the enrichment of higher forms of economic integration. The need was expressed for all aspects of cooperation, which were the subject of talks between the two countries last year, to be implemented as fully as possible.

The friendly exchange of views between Loncar and Papoulias also included some pending bilateral issues. The two ministers noted the vital need for the continuation of dialogue on these issues in a constructive way and in the spirit of mutual respect and understanding in order to further contribute to the consolidation of friendship between the two neighboring countries.

Loncar and Papoulias pointed out the positive development in Yugoslav-Greek relations, which contributes to the creation of a climate of trust, understanding, and cooperation in the Balkans.

Loncar, Totu Meet

LD261259 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Sevice in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today met his Romanian colleague, Ioan Totu, with whom he had talks on the development of Yugoslav-Romanian relations and the Belgrade meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers.

Loncar and Totu highly assessed the traditionally good and friendly neighborly relations between the two countries. He said that they had a positive impact on the preparations and proceedings of the ministerial meeting here.

The two ministers stated that relations between Belgrade and Bucharest represent an example of successful cooperation between Balkan states and contribute to the consolidation of the climate of trust, stability, and cooperation in the Balkans. Stress was laid on the importance of recent Yugoslav-Romanian meetings at the highest level, on which occasion agreement was reached on ways of enriching mutual comprehensive cooperation.

Budimir Loncar and Ioan Totu expressed satisfaction with the constructive work of the ministerial meeting, [words indistinct] ever since the time when Yugoslav and Romanian foreign ministers had a separate meeting.

They expressed the hope that a new atmosphere of mutual trust and cooperation is at the moment being developed on the Balkan Peninsula. Loncar and Totu reaffirmed on behalf of Yugoslavia and Romania the readiness of their countries to fully contribute to the promotion of understanding and diversified cooperation between the Balkan countries.

Malile Meets With Counterparts

AU251951 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] The meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries continued its proceedings today. This morning's session took place behind closed doors for exchanges of opinions by the participants. The foreign ministers agreed to set up a joint commission composed of the deputy foreign ministers to draft a press communique at the conclusion of the meeting.

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, had bilateral meetings with the foreign ministers of some countries. He met with Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs of Romania; Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Turkey; Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of Greece; and with Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs of the SFRY.

At these meetings, opinions were exchanged primarily on the proceedings of the meeting of foreign ministers, and particularly on bilateral problems. Foreign Minister Reis Malile also spoke about the existing relations between Albania, on the one hand, and the participating countries, on the other, and on their further development.

This evening, Aleksander Bakucevic, President of the Belgrade City Assembly, gave a commemorative plaque to the participating ministers at a meeting held at the Belgrade Assembly.

Meanwhile, the speech delivered by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, continues to arouse great interest in diplomatic and journalistic circles here in Belgrade. The newspaper and agency correspondents have appreciated the realistic note and constructive stand of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania with regard to those questions on improving the atmosphere in the Balkans and to making the needed efforts from each individual country, as well as jointly, to achieve a better climate of security and stability in the Balkans and beyond.

Mladenov Meets With Counterparts

AU252031 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, February 25 (BTA spec. corr.)—A meeting was held here between Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and Mr Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs of Romania.

In a constructive and friendly atmosphere the two ministers discussed issues related to the success of the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, as well as other issues of international nature. They gave a high assessment to the cooperation between Bulgaria and Romania and discussed some issues related to its promotion.

Today Mr Petur Mladenov also met the foreign minister of Albania Mr Reis Malile. The two ministers exchanged opinions on the progress of the Belgrade meeting.

They also discussed issues of the relations between Bulgaria and Albania. Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Reis Malile expressed satisfaction and the conviction that these relations are developing on a mutually advantageous basis in the interest of the peoples of the two countries and of peace in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world. The meeting passed in a constructive and friendly atmosphere.

At the Intercontinental Hotel in Belgrade Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, met his Greek counterpart Mr Karolos Papoulias. The two ministers discussed some issues of multilateral Balkan cooperation in the light of the Belgrade meeting of foreign ministers, as well as other problems of the current international situation. In a friendly atmosphere they reviewed the upgrade development of Bulgaro-Greek relations which found fresh expression during the recently held meeting between State Council President Todor Zhivkov and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou.

Totu Meets With Counterparts

AU251952 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1919 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/02/1988—On Thursday, February 25, Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, conducted talks with the foreign ministers of Albania, Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece. In a cordial atmosphere, questions related to the development of bilateral links as well as various aspects of the problems discussed by the meeting in the Yugoslav capital city were approached.

Officials Assess Conference, Bilateral Talks

Yilmaz on Balkan Relations

LD260913 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0012 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 25 (TANJUG)—The necessary conditions for holding a summit meeting of the Balkan countries' heads of state, as proposed by Romanian Foreign Minister Ioan Totu, are still not ripe, Turkey's Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz told Turkish media reporters and TANJUG's reporter today.

He said that Turkey proposed at the current meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers, which opened in Belgrade yesterday, that the Balkan countries continue their talks, especially in the economic sphere. Yilmaz expressed satisfaction that Ankara's proposal to hold a meeting of Balkan countries' economics ministers was accepted.

Turkey's relatiuons with Greece and Bulgaria are burdened with unsettled question of the Turkish minorities in those countries, said Yilmaz. Noting that the question was put on the agenda of talks with Bulgaria, he said that the two countries signed a protocol on "finally resolving the problem" in Belgrade on February 23. This does not mean that all the problems were automatically resolved, but Turkey hopes that all the outstanding questions will gradually be resolved through patient negotiations, stressed the Turkish foreign minister.

Yilmaz said that relations between Yugoslavia and Turkey are developing very successfully and that there are no outstanding questions between the two countries. He noted that the Balkan meeting confirmed that Ankara and Belgrade hold identical views on many questions.

Yilmaz pointed out that the question of balancing bilateral trade and promoting economic cooperation to a considerably higher level is the only question which the two countries now have to resolve.

He indicated that the two countries will sign a separate bilateral agreement to deal with the difficulties arising from frequent traffic accidents inolving Turkish citizens on Yugoslav roads.

Loncar, Yilmaz Discuss Meeting

LD251826 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, this afternoon met Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of Turkey, with whom he exchanged views on the proceedings of the meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers and bilateral relations.

Mutual satisfaction with the atmosphere and the work of the Belgrade meeting was expressed, and the two ministers noted the closeness or identity of the views of Yugoslavia and Turkey on numerous important issues concerning the meeting's work. They also reaffirmed Yugoslavia's and Turkey's mutual interest in the successful outcome of the ministerial meeting, as well as in the continuity of political and other, especially economic, cooperation between the Balkan countries.

Loncar and Yilmaz expressed satisfaction with the absence of serious problems in relations between Yugoslavia and Turkey and drew attention to the need to further develop Turkish-Yugoslav cooperation.

Both sides, however, noted that from the point of view of economic relations there is a prominent imbalance in the commodities' exchange. They called for overcoming this situation by means of developing higher forms of economic cooperation. On Turkey's initiative a mutual interest was renewed for a meeting of the mixed committee for economic and industrial cooperation in near future, as well as of a subcommission for transport.

The ministers also examined a possibility of a speedier agreement on legally convicted citizens of one country serving a sentence in the other. Yugoslavia soon will reply to the draft agreement submitted by Turkey.

Mesut Yilmaz reiterated to Budimir Loncar Turkey's interest in the renewal of the agreement on air transport between the two countries.

The Turkish foreign minister repeated the invitation to the FEC president to visit Ankara and conveyed the desire of the Turkish Government for his visit to take place as soon as possible.

Loncar, Malile Discuss Relations

LD252007 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1846 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, this evening met with Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile, with whom he had talks on relations between Yugoslavia and Albania and the Balkan foreign ministers' meeting in Belgrade.

The two ministers expressed mutual satisfaction with the good atmosphere and the way in which the work of the meeting has been conducted to date.

The two sides noted their interest for the promotion of mutual relations on the basis of equality, independence, mutual respect, respect for internal systems in the two countries, and noninterference in internal affairs.

The development of goodneighborly relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Albania is one of the priorities of their foreign policies, it was stressed during the meeting between Budimir Loncar and Reis Malile, who greeted the latest developments in this direction. Here one bears in mind first and foremost a recent agreement on cultural-educational cooperation, the opening of the Titograd-Shoder railway, the beginning of tourist cooperation, and reciprocal visits of sport teams.

The two sides also expressed readiness for the consolidation of the commodities' exchange and border trade, as well as water economy and transport.

Proceeding from the constructive spirit at the Belgrade meeting of the Balkan countries, Loncar and Malile noted that the minorities ought to serve as a bridge for closer contacts and the consolidation of trust.

They also expressed interest in the consolidation of mutual communication and human contacts and better familiarization via cooperation between the public information media.

Some international issues, especially cooperation in the Mediterranean in which both Yugoslavia and Albania are interested, were also examined during the meeting.

Final Session Held; Communique Issued

Final Session Begins

LD260948 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0935 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The final session of the ministerial meeting of the Balkan countries started at the Sava Center in Belgrade a few minutes ago. The foreign ministers of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia are expected to adopt a communique that will contain the resume of proposals and initiatives for the consolidation of Balkan cooperation.

Balkan Meeting Ends

LD261158 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1136 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The first meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers has just ended with the adoption of the final document at Belgrade's Sava Center. The final document expresses readiness on the part of all Balkan countries to continue efforts for the promotion and broadening of cooperation in the Balkans.

Loncar Previews Communique

LD261157 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The joint communique, which we are now adopting, is an expression of the efforts by all the participants of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers meeting in Belgrade. It fully reflects mutual understanding, trust, and cooperation among all Balkan countries. This was stated by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today at the beginning of the final session of the Belgrade meeting.

Loncar stressed that the joint communique also reflects realistic possibilities for the present relations in the Balkans and provides an direction for the future. "I believe that the work and the joint communique pave the way toward the development of fruitful multilateral cooperation and at the same contribute toward efforts to create conditions for better bilateral relations and cooperation," Loncar said.

Albanian Foreign Minister Reiz Malile asked the chairman, Budimir Loncar, to read out the text of the joint communique in English.

The final plenum of the Belgrade meeting is continuing its work.

Balkan Ministers Adopt Communique

LD261411 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1247 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 26 (TANJUG)—The ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, who have been in session here since Wednesday, at the end of their meeting today adopted a joint communique which reads:

"The ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, at the initiative of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, met in Belgrade from 24 to 26 February 1988.

The president of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia addressed the meeting.

Messages were received from the heads of state or government of the Balkan countries and from the secretary-general of the United Nations.

In the meeting participated the minister for foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Reis Malile, the minister for foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Petur Mladenov, the minister for foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic, Karolos Papoulias, the minister for foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Ioan Totu, the minister for foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, A. Mesut Yilmaz, and the federal secretary for foreign affairs of the SFR of Yugoslavia, Budimir Loncar, who was elected chairman of the meeting.

In a constructive atmosphere, the ministers exchanged views on ideas, ways and possibilities for developing multilateral cooperation in the Balkans in all fields in which the interest of the Balkan countries coincide and where the needs are common, bearing in mind political, economic, cultural, humanitarian and other dimensions.

Proceeding from the objective interest and needs of the Balkan countries to strengthen comprehensive multilateral cooepration in the region, in the spirit of promoting mutual respect, understanding and confidence, the ministers stressed the interest and readiness of their countries to contribute to the enhancement of co-operation among the Balkan countries. The ministers underlined that this meeting constitutes a significant contribution to the relaxation of tension and to the creation of a friendly atmosphere and dialogue in the Balkans, which also serves peace and security in this region, Europe and the world.

Proceeding from the principles of strict respect for the different political, social and economic systems of the Balkan countries, their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers, equal rights and non-interference in internal affairs and mutual interests, the ministers agreed to exert new efforts towards promoting comprehensive multilateral co-operation as well as mutual relations among the Balkan countries. They expressed their conviction that progress in developing multilateral cooperation and promoting bilateral relations could be achieved only through persistant work, continuous efforts, a gradual and realistic approach of all Balkan countries, bearing in mind that improvement in bilateral relations will have a positive impact on Balkan-wide co-operation. In this framework they noted with particular satisfaction the recent positive developments in the bilateral relations of some Balkan countries which also contributed to the positive atmosphere of this meeting.

The ministers expressed their readiness to further consolidate peace and security in the Balkans.

Attention was given at the meeting to proposals to transform the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. In view of different approaches to these issues, it was understood that further consideration is required.

The proposal to hold a meeting of heads of state or government of the Balkan countries was discussed and will be further explored when appropriate conditions are created.

The ministers devoted particular attention to the questions of economic co-operation among the Balkan countries. They noted that common interests exist in broadening economic co-operation.

The ministers particularly stressed the need for greater utilization of possibilities for the development of mutual co-operation in the fields of trade, including the exchange of commodities and services, border trade, transport, industry, tourism, banking, energy, science and technology, agriculture and water resources, telecommunications environment, health, culture, sports and information.

The importance of the humanitarian aspect of co-operation within the Balkan region has been underlined, including national minorities.

The view was expressed that national minorities in the Balkan countries on whose territory they exist should be a factor of cohesion, stability and friendly relations and cooperation.

The necessity to cooperate in combatting terrorism and illegal trade of narcotics and weapons was underlined.

A general desire and readiness has been expressed to pursue the initiatives undertaken at this meeting.

To this end, the ministers agreed in principle that meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries will be held periodically.

The ministers underscored the need to hold regular meetings of designated high officials of their ministries, if possible the first one to be held before the second half of 1988 in Sofia, with the task of studying all the proposals and co-ordinating further activities in all fields, including the possibility of holding the next meeting of the foreign ministers.

The ministers recommended to convene a meeting of ministers of economic affairs or foreign trade in Turkey in 1988.

They also recommended to convene a meeting of the ministers of transport in Yugoslavia before the end of 1988.

They recommended to convene a meeting in Romania to examine the possibilities of co-operation in industrial production, including the transfer of technology as well.

They proposed, likewise, to hold a second meeting of governmental experts at an appropriate level on environmental protection of the Balkans in Bulgaria in the course of 1988.

The ministers underlined the usefulness of establishing in Athens a research institute for Balkan economic co-operation. This idea will be further elaborated at the first meeting of high officials with a view to making it operative, if possible, before the end of the first half of 1989.

Supporting Balkan co-operation at non-governmental level, the ministers recommended to encourage contacts of people from all walks of life such as parliamentarians, academicians, journalists, etc. thorugh existing committees of Balkan understanding, if any, or other appropriate ways.

The ministers agreed to remain in contact in order to contribute jointly to the development of multilateral co-operation among the Balkan countries, to the benefit of each country, as well as to the strengthening of mutual confidence, good-neighbourliness and friendly relations among their countries, on a realistic and forward-looking basis.

The meeting authorized Yugoslavia to inform the organization of the United Nations of the results of the meeting.

The ministers expressed their commendation for the way in which the work of the Balkan foreign ministers' meeting was conducted and conveyed their gratitude to the government of the SFR of Yugoslavia for its warm hospitability extended to the delegations participating in the said meeting.

Ivan Ganev Comments On Belgrade Conference

AU251728 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 24 Feb 88 pp 5,7

[Interview with Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, by Aleksandur Nachev and Dimitur Radkov: "Let Us Look Soberly at the Things We Have in Common"—exact place and date of interview not given]

[Text] The meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries is opening today. Naturally, the interest in this meeting in our country, as well as in the other states of our peninsula, and in Europe as a whole, is great. Actually, this is a meeting for which there is a quorum for the first time in many years—meaning, that all Balkan countries expressed their readiness to participate in it. This, precisely, is the starting point of our interview with Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs:

[Ganev] The Bulgarian side welcomed with attention the proposal submitted by Yugoslavia to convene this meeting. We were among the first to welcome this idea and replied positively to the invitation to participate. This decision was not prompted by opportunistic considerations. Bulgaria has always been in favor of a development of all-Balkan cooperation in all fields of life, in which we have common interests. The meeting should not be regarded as surprising, as an unusual event. It is our conviction that this meeting is a logical result of the positive accumulation of numerous bilateral steps and multilateral all-Balkan initiatives, such as the conference of experts in Athens, the meetings in Ankara, Belgrade, Sofia, and Bucharest.

[Question] Can we look forward to the end of this meeting with optimism? How would it reflect upon the vitally important problem facing all mankind today—namely, to preserve peace and avert a thermonuclear disaster?

[Ganev] This question can be exhaustively answered, only after the meeting is concluded. Nevertheless, we would like this first forum of its kind to mark the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in regional cooperation, in expanding the horizons of ideas and initiatives prompted by common interests. Whenever we talk about regional cooperation, it is quite natural, that under the present development of the international situation, we must accept the fact this cooperation is more or less relative, since the Balkans are not an isolated region, they are a part of Europe, even an inseparable part of Europe. In addition to this, it is very important to point out that the meeting is taking place at a time when a certain change is taking shape in international relations, following the INF Treaty signed between the USSR and the United States, and prospects of decisive progress in the field of disarmament are being mapped out. There is no doubt that the courageous foreign political initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, inspired by the spirit of new political thinking, are exerting their influence upon the Balkans.

[Question] Do we have a particular stand on the meeting?

[Ganev] Naturally, we have such a stand. We are going to Belgrade with the firm resolve to make our active contribution to its success. We believe that our Yugoslav friends, as hosts, and the other delegations will submit specific proposals for the further development of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans. We are ready for example, to support any initiative which is in accordance with the needs of our time, and would be acceptable to all participants in the conference. Within the framework of a dialogue based on equal rights we will express our views on a number of questions which, in our opinion, are of particular importance for the present stage of development. Guided by realistic considerations we think that attention should be focused on initiatives for the implementation of which given prerequisites exist. In this respect we will recall some Bulgarian initiatives launched in recent years, aimed at consolidating mutual confidence and security. They would be likely to improve stability in our area and stimulate disarmament. We are talking about Balkan projections of the all-European process. The Balkans show that they are capable of overcoming the barriers of dogmas and prejudice, of outdated cliches that have been accumulating over many years.

[Question] Can you specify the trends which you are talking about? Do you, in this particular context, have in mind the idea of transforming the Balkans into a zone, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, about the ecological protection of the peninsula?

[Ganev] In the political sphere the idea of freeing the Balkans of mass destruction weapons would increase the extent of mutual confidence and stimulate the efforts for a global solution of disarmament problems. The necessity of the ecological protection of our area is also becoming increasingly crucial. I think that this problem also could be a subject of detailed discussions at the Belgrade meeting. There are sufficient arguments to the advantage of the practical implementation of Bulgarian initiatives for the signing of a respective document on the ecological protection of the Balkans. The connection is evident in this respect—actions, aimed at environmental protection are increasingly imposing themselves as inseparable parts of the efforts to establish a comprehensive international system of peace and security. On the other hand, I will stress that preliminary consultations indicate the priority role played in the Belgrade talks by questions pertaining to economic cooperation. Sectors, such as those of industrial production sharing, the volume of technologies, and energy, as well as communications, transport, and others are assuming a particularly topical character in this respect.

[Question] We now mentioned certain possible political, economic, and ecological aspects of the Belgrade talks. Do you think that thoughts on cooperation in the cultural and humanitarian spheres will also be expressed?

[Ganev] Naturally, this can be expected, among other things. Importance should also be attached to the care for increasing the extent of communications between Balkan countries, the perfection of visa regulations, and the further development of tourism, exchange of cultural values, etc.

[Question] Do you think that the idea launched by our country in 1981 to convene a Balkan summit conference may be further developed in Belgrade?

[Ganev] The Belgrade foreign ministers' meeting should not be regarded as a forum at which such a question can be resolved, but obviously, if this meeting should be successful, it is likely to create the prerequisites for holding such a summit meeting at a certain stage.

[Question] Can you describe the criteria according to which the results of the meeting could be evaluated as successful, or unsuccessful? As far as we know, no preliminary agenda has been adopted for this meeting. The adoption of specific decisions is not envisaged, at least for the time being.

[Ganev] The very fact that this meeting will actually take place is an important criterion, it represents a positive step forward in the efforts of the Balkan peoples for understanding and cooperation. What meaning do we attach to this meeting, in saying that we would like it to be successful? The meeting could determine the framework of those common interests shared by the Balkan countries which would more sensitively stimulate their attempts at reaching multilateral cooperation. The very fact that this may possibly happen and that a common balance of the interests of individual Balkan countries could be mapped out, interests that are not to the disadvantage of other countries—this fact alone represents a practical, realistic step with an undoubtedly positive effect.

The present agenda of the meeting has not been determined. This is true. However, at the very beginning, on the basis of mutual agreement, it was established in most general terms that this agenda should be defined as the search for possibilities, methods, and means of developing multilateral cooperation among the Balkan countries. This suggests that every country can point out its priorities determined by its own interests and the sum of these priorities will map out the specific results we may expect from the conference. We would like for example, to emphasize the possibilities of multilateral cooperation by looking at them from a new angle. The Balkan peoples have enough to talk about. Their history is not only limited to wars and mutual lack of understanding. Their countries are cradles of ancient civilizations and of ancient culture, they have contributed to the enrichment of European and universal culture. We have many things in common and these things are definitely so numerous, as to represent opportunities for cooperation. This is the aspect under which we should consider the Balkans today, when we are looking for methods and means to consolidate mutual understanding and mutual confidence.

At the end of the interview Ivan Ganev once more stressed as follows: In a constructive spirit, with goodwill, and a sense of responsibility, the Belgrade meeting can accomplish a definite psychological breakthrough and promote positive trends in the Balkans, it can enhance their prestige in the eyes of European and world-wide public opinion. This is what all the Balkan peoples are now expecting from the conference.

Turkish Allowed as Gesture Before Conference

NC260924 Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 19 Feb 88 p 5

[Excerpt] Sofia, (UBA)—The Bulgarian Government has made an important gesture prior to the convening of the Balkan foreign ministers meeting, which will meet in Belgrade in one week. After two Muslim Soviet clergymen delivered sermons in Turkish in a mosque in Sofia about 2 weeks ago, the Bulgarian Government decided to allow the "minorities" in Mengishevo Village [place name as published] to use their own language among themselves.

The Bulgarian Government's decision was conveyed from Sofia to Mengishevo, which was the venue of bloody incidents in August 1985. It said the members of the Turkish minority can use their own language among themselves and in their homes and coffee shops. [passage omitted]

Ovcharov Signs Cooperation Accord in Bonn

AU252029 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 25 Feb 88

["Bulgaria-FRG: Techno-Scientific Cooperation"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Bonn, February 25 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, Bulgaria's minister of the economy and planning, on the one hand, and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, federal minister of foreign affairs, and Dr Heinz Riesenhuber, minister of research and technology of the FRG, on the other, today signed an Intergovernmental Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The agreement, which is the first accord between the two countries in this field envisages joint scientific, technical and technological research and development in shipuilding, nuclear power enineering, chemistry, biotechnologies and other major economic branches, cooperation in social and natural sciences, as well as a wider exchange of information, programmes of study and experts between institutes and higher educational establishments in Bulgaria and the FRG.

After the signing of the document, Mr Stoyan Ovcharov and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher stressed its great importance in the joint efforts towards an extension and promotion of the useful cooperation between Bulgaria and the Federal Republic in all spheres. They expressed the confidence that the new agreement will help master and implement new efficient forms of scientific, technical and technological exchange.

During his visit to the FRG, Mr Stoyan Ovcharov was received by the federal chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl, with whom he discussed in detail matters concerning bilateral relations and international economic cooperation. Dr Kohl expressed satisfaction over the activation of political contacts and the fruitful cooperation with Bulgaria in all fields, and he stressed the important impetus which this process received from the official visit to the Federal Republic last June by Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council.

Mr Stoyan Ovcharov also conferred with Mr Martin Bangemann, federal minister of economics, with whom he discussed questions related to the bilateral commercial and economic exchanges.

The Bulgarian minister of the economy and planning visited the Ostausschuss der Deutschen Wirtschaft in Cologne, where he met the members of the Bulgarian section of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Press Marks Soviet Army Anniversary

AU251715 l[Editorial Report] The Sofia press on 22 and 23 February publishes the following articles by prominent Soviet and Bulgarian military figures to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy:

a) In Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT on 22 February, pages 1 and 2, a 2,100-word article by Colonel General Aleksandr Zvartsev, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces with the Bulgarian People's Army, entitled "Sure Sentinel of the Achievements of October."

b) In Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA on 22 February, pages 1 and 2, a 1,800-word article by Lieutenant Gen Tsotso Tsotsov, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Civil Defense Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, entitled: "Steadfast Guard of Socialism and Peace."

c) Also in Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA on 22 February, pages 1 and 3, a 1,200-word article by Col Gen Prof. Dmitriy Volkonogov, doctor of philosophical sciences, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, "through NOVOSTI specially for NARODNA ARMIYA," and entitled: "Responsibility."

d) In Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT on 23 February, pages 1 and 3, a 1,500-word article by Col Gen Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, entitled: "On Dedicated Watch in Defense of Socialism and Peace."

e) In Sofia TRUD on 23 February, pages 1 and 2, a 1,600-word report on an interview with Major Gen Givi Ordzhonikidze, army, air, and naval attache at the Soviet Embassy in Bulgaria, entitled "The Soldier's Helmet, the Flower of Peace...."

In his article in OTECHESTVEN FRONT of 22 February, Col Gen Aleksandr Zvartsev first briefly describes the circumstances of the formation of the Red Army by the decree of 15 January 1918, drawn up under Lenin's guidance. Zvartsev stresses the party's crucial role in providing leadership for the armed forces, as laid down by Lenin, noting that "during the Great Patriotic War (1941-45) 1.5 million Communists were sent to the front, including tens of thousands of leading party, state, trade union, and Komsomol workers." At present, Zvartsev states, "our army is characterized by the further growth of the leading role of the party in all fields of its life and work."

Zvartsev reviews the four principles upon which the Soviet Army and Navy are based: party leadership, the class principle, unity of the army and people, and the principle of internationalism, the last expressed externally in "combat cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and their armies and understanding of the international duty to the workers of the entire world."

Zvartsev then briefly mentions outstanding events in the Soviet Army's history, from the Civil War to the Soviet-Finnish conflict.

However, Zvartsev writes, "we cannot pass over the serious damage caused to the country's defense capability in the prewar years by Y.V. Stalin's cult of personality and the violations of socialist legality connected with this. Thousands of Soviet citizens, party members and others, were subjected to unjustified mass repressions. Among them were also many military men, including the well known military chiefs V.K. Blyukher, M.N. Tukhachevskiy, A.I. Yegorov, N.E. Yakir, I.P. Uborevich, and others." Despite these losses, the Soviet generals and officers were able to lead the army to victory in World War II.

Zvartsev then briefly recounts the postwar appearance of the U.S. threat against the Soviet Union, with its early nuclear arms monopoly, leading to decades of military confrontation. Now, Zvartsev notes, the world has entered a new stage, marked by the new political thinking and the signing of the INF Treaty. However, he warns that "the signing of the Soviet-American treaty has given rise to a new outburst of malice and anti-Soviet activity in the camp of the militarists and reactionary forces. NATO headquarters is discussing 'compensation' measures for the bloc's military capacities, for a new

'updating of arms.'" In this situation, Zvartsev points out, the Soviet Union is "ceaselessly concerning itself with strengthening the country's defense capability," seeking not superiority, but "equal, mutual, and general security," as expressed in the document the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine approved by the Pact's Political Consultative Committee in May 1987. Zvartsev concludes by emphasizing the Soviet Army's combat readiness on its 70th anniversary.

The first half of Lt Gen Tsotsov's article in NARODNA ARMIYA on 22 February consists of a general review of the Red Army's history from its formation in 1918 to the end of World War II, making no mention of Stalin's purges of the officer corps in the late thirties. He then reviews the role of the Soviet Armed Forces at the present day, in the light of the new political thinking and the Warsaw Pact's new military doctrine adopted in May 1987. Tsotsov warns, however, that "the reactionary circles of the capitalist countries are not giving up their striving to achieve superiority over the socialist countries," and that "contemporary imperialism is not only preparing for a global thermonuclear war. It is also capable of conducting local wars. Examples of this are the naked aggressive acts by the United States against the liberated countries—Lebanon, Grenada, and Libya, as well as the 'undeclared wars' against the peoples of Angola, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Nicaragua, and so on."

Tsotsov then comments on the radical restructuring now under way in the Soviet Army under the leadership of the CPSU, and concludes by stressing the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Army and the Soviet Army.

In the same issue of NARODNA ARMIYA, Col Gen Prof. Dmitriy Volkonogov writes that, despite the Soviet Army's image as a mighty force equipped with the latest military hardware, "the main thing that determines the image of the Soviet Army and Navy today is the new man in the army greatcoat, the wielder of modern equipment and weapons." He proceeds to describe the contemporary Soviet soldier, pointing out that "almost 100 percent of all personnel have higher, secondary, or incomplete secondary education, and about half of the officers are engineers and technicians." Volkonogov notes that "the Soviet Armed Forces play a great role in the general system of educating the younger generation. "Many millions of people," he notes, "have passed through this unique 'men's university' over the 7 decades since the Great October Socialist Revolution." He stresses the "political tempering" received by the male population during their army service, and generally describes the military, political, cultural, and intellectual training they receive. He concludes by emphasizing that on their 70th anniversary the Soviet Armed Forces "are sharply aware of their role in ensuring favorable conditions for the country's accelerated socioeconomic development," and of their "responsibilities for the past, present and future of our native land."

In his article in OTECHESTVEN FRONT on 23 February, Col Gen Mitko Mitkov also reviews the early history of the Soviet Army, laying emphasis on Lenin's guiding role, and then praises its victories, great sacrifices, and achievements over the past 70 years.

In the second half of his article, Mitkov reviews the Soviet Army's contemporary role under the conditions of the new political thinking. Like Tsotsov above, he also warns that, despite the signing of the INF Treaty, "the imperialist military-industrial machine continues to operate at full steam; in the NATO headquarters, 'compensation measures' are feverishly being prepared; plans are being drawn up to modernize the nuclear and conventional arms remaining in Europe; in Washington they are continuing to obstinately adhere to the notorious SDI, and so on, and so forth." All this, says Mitkov, obliges the Soviet Army to remain at permanent combat readiness.

Mitkov then reviews the significance of the document "On the Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states" adopted in Berlin in May 1987, and restates that the USSR Armed Forces are nonetheless fully prepared "to knock sense into the head of any aggressor." He concludes by confirming the readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army "to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army and Navy and with the other Warsaw Pact armies, in the name of peace, social progress, and the future of mankind."

In his interview with Major Gen Givi Ordzhonikidze, the Soviet military attache in Sofia, in TRUD on 23 February, Nikola Gavrilov first sets the scene, describing Givi Pavlovich Ordzhonikidze as a "smiling, kindly, gray-haired, sincere friend of Bulgaria," and explaining that Ordzhonikidze preferred him to ask his questions in Bulgarian, but to answer them in Russian.

Gavrilov explains that his headline for the interview, "The Soldier's Helmet, the Flower of Peace," refers to an old photograph from World War II of a soldier's helmet abandoned on the battlefield, in which a daisy has taken root, "an unforgettable symbol of the victory of peace over war." According to Gavrilov, Ordzhonikidze took this as the theme for the interview.

Gavrilov first quotes Ordzhonikidze's comments on the article in Moscow PRAVDA of 8 February by USSR Defense Minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov. Ordzhonidize notes that, following the signing of the INF Treaty, the first main point is the attainment of "approximate parity"; the second important point is that, "before the ink of the signatures on the treaty has had time to dry, certain NATO and U.S. circles are already raising their voices about compensation for what will be destroyed with... nonnuclear systems."

In answer to Gavrilov's question, Ordzhonikidze then describes the readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces to make their own full contribution in the current restructuring of Soviet society, noting that "here our main task

is in the area of increasing combat readiness," in the face of the continuing threat from imperialism, which has not changed its aims since the early years following the October Revolution.

In response to Gavrilov's prompting, Ordzhonikidze then reviews the "combat friendship between our two peoples" that has lasted since the Russo-Turkish War of Liberation 110 years ago, and is now embodied within the framework of the Warsaw Pact.

Finally, Gavrilov asks Ordzhonikidze for his views on the solving of regional conflicts and on Gorbachev's recent declaration concerning Afghanistan. Ordzhonidkidze describes the latter as "an expression of our new, contemporary view of the world, an expression of the Soviet traditions of good-neighborliness, good will, and mutual respect," and refers to Gorbachev's words that "regional conflicts are bleeding wounds that can give rise to gangrenous sores on the body of mankind."

Atanasov Meets USSR Medical Industry Minister
AU251924 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text]On 25 February Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Valeriy Bykov, USSR minister of medical and microbiological industry. They exchanged information on the process of restructuring the economies of the two countries, and more specifically on restructuring the medical, pharmaceutic, and microbiological industries.

Measures were discussed on accelerating the scientific-technical, production, and investment integration in the production of medicaments, stimulators, manipulators, and highly technological systems of modern bioproducts. It was agreed to encourage the joint activity of the pharmaceutical and biological industries.

Zhivkov Greets Spanish CP Leader on Election
AU251348 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Feb 88 p 8

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov has sent a greetings message to Julio Anguita Gonzalez, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, in which he greets him on his election to this post and wishes the Spanish Communists new successes in their struggle to implement the decisions of their 12th party congress.

Bread Production Shortcomings Noted in Pernik
AU251838 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Feb 88 p 4

[Mariya Todorova article: "Let Us Talk With Respect and Sorrow About Bread"]

[Excerpts] In their ancient wisdom our people have attributed great importance to bread. "Nothing is greater than bread," they say. Bread has been reverently respected. There is something symbolic in the ancient way in which the Bulgarians cut bread, by holding it close to their chests and hearts. Perhaps, as a poet says, they are doing this in order to feel the bread and thus respect it. [passage omitted]

The bread-producing plant in Pernik is a typical example of how not to construct industrial enterprises. Construction started in 1972, while the first bread was finally baked after 11 years! During that period many of the machines, which have been stored outdoors, were damaged. Later, they were sloppily mounted. Many mistakes in designing were discovered, and important pieces of equipment are still missing. Thus, production became an embarassment for the workers. A special program of the bureau of the former BCP Okrug Committee required many components to be repaired and their construction completed. However even now there still are things, which must be repaired. [passage omitted]

We have excellent workers and a good collective, Kiril Yordanov, director of the bread-and-pastry-producing branch, maintains. What makes me sad is the fact that we overfulfill our plan. This year, for example, we shall overfulfill it by 500,000 leva. However, we still cannot make good bread.

Is the low quality of bread really a result of shortcomings in the equipment and technology, or in the intensive mixing of the dough? Do not the same machines and flour also produce high quality bread and not just "bricks" and ugly loafs? The final outcome depends on the leaders, specialists, and workers. All of them are guilty of "sins."

Several days ago all four production lines were damaged and production was stopped. The city did not remain without bread, however, because trucks brought bread from Sofia. Many workers worked around the clock and repaired the damaged equipment. However, the question remains: Why was the critical situation allowed to occur? It is better to be proud of low-key and systematic care for the equipment than of selflessness and heroism in removing the difficulties, which we ourselves have created. [passage omitted]

The personal index cards, which were introduced several years ago, and which cover every one from top to bottom, are a unique mirror of production quality. These cards contain regular information related to the workers' violations or contribution, and this determines whether their monthly wage will increase or decrease 3 percent. The Economic Council has adopted another decision: Every Thursday representatives of the trade network and the citizens will be invited to the plan to discuss production quality and make relevant proposals. The construction of a bakery in the "Lenin" Enterprise will be the first joint experiment related to bringing production closer to the consumers. The city network of bread-selling shops will be reconstructed. Reserves for improving the assortment are being sought. It is obvious that care for the future has been invested in the work.

In this context we must also think about preserving the bread. The allowed material waste in the plant is 5 percent, and the real one—4 percent. At first sight this is not much, however the impressive heap of bread waste, which comes out of the damaged oven, and the wasted dough, scraped under the machines indicate that the losses could be lower if management was better. An additional fact is astounding: During the period, which precedes Christmas, when the pigs are growing, some 75,000 loafs of bread are bought daily by the citizens. However, only 45,000 loafs are bought daily, when it is consumed by people only. We all are in the "vicious circle." On the one hand there is the justification that the bread is of low quality because quantity is the main goal of the producers. On the other hand, there is the claim that the bread is so bad that only animals can eat it, otherwise it should be dumped in the garbage.

Nothing is greater than bread, the people say, but it is the attitude toward bread that determines how great man is.

Further on Soviet Missile Withdrawal

Preparing Missiles for Removal

LD251512 Prague CTK in English
1355 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)—Members of a Soviet missile unit started preparing the withdrawal of operational tactical missiles by entraining hardware at the railway station in Hranice na Morave, North Moravia, today.

The commander of the unit, Colonel Vyacheslav Granovskiy, told CTK that the preparations were taking place as planned and the first transport of hardware and teams—officers, mechanics and drivers—will set out for sites in the Soviet Union tonight.

Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Dusan Rovensky said last night that the OTR-22 missiles are to be liquidated in the Soviet Union after the Soviet-U.S. treaty to scrap medium- and shorter-range missiles is ratified.

Over 70 Czechoslovak and Soviet journalists and radio and television teams watched Soviet soldiers entraining 19 mobile launchers. The operation continued without a hitch despite heavy snowfall. Every 20-30 minutes one launcher was carefully fixed with many safety steps taken.

The driver of the last launcher to be entrained told CTK that "we were told about the missiles withdrawal about three weeks ago and have prepared the operation meticulously. I shall have pleasant memories of my service in Hranice na Morave."

Later today, Colonel Vyacheslav Granovskiy, commander of the missile unit, told journalists about the further steps to be taken and when the missiles and warheads will be removed.

"Thirty nine Soviet operational tactical missiles with a range of 500-1000 kilometres and 24 mobile launchers were sited in Czechoslovakia in response to the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles of the Pershing-2 type. In today's first stage we are withdrawing 19 mobile launchers. We shall end the transport of missiles and all equipment to the liqidation site about the middle of March."

As regards safe transport on Czechoslovak territory, "we have adopted, in cooperation with Czechoslovak bodies, all essential measures to guarantee absolute safety of the transport."

Asked what would be done with the operational tactical missiles and other equipment if the Soviet-U.S. treaty is not ratified, Colonel Granovskiy said that "for the time being, the launchers and missiles are only transported to liquidation sites to stay there until the moment of ratification. If the treaty is not ratified, further steps will be decided by competent bodies."

Answering a question whether it was not premature to withdraw the missiles, he said that "American inspectors will have an opportunity to come to the military premises near Hranice na Morave and see for themselves that the missiles are not there. Under the text of the treaty, Czechoslovak bodies are obliged to grant them visas within 24 hours and create all conditions they need for their activity, after the treaty is ratified, naturally."

He said his unit was leaving Czechoslovakia with the good feeling that it has fulfilled its tasks.

A meeting was held on the premises of the Soviet missile unit in Hranice na Morava today on the occasion of the departure of the first transport to the Soviet Union.

The unit's commander Colonel Vyacheslav Granovskiy stressed on this occasion that the withdrawal of Soviet missiles is an expression of the Soviet peace initiative and veracity of the approach to the elimination of the nuclear threat.

The meeting, attended by leading representatives of the Central Group of Soviet Troops in Czechoslovakia and representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Army Command, reflected friendship and fraternal cooperation between the Soviet and Czechoslovak Armies and people.

Later on the unit left the barracks and got on a prepared train. At 16.53 (15.53 GMT) sharp, the train left the town for the Soviet Union.

The withdrawal of the Soviet operational tactical missiles from the Hranice na Morava military district will continue, and according to Soviet commanders, will be completed in about mid-March 1988.

Missiles Loaded Onto Trains

LD252142 Prague Television Service in Czech
1830 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Video report by unidentified correspondents from Hranice na Morave]

[Text] The train station at Hranice na Morave received an unexpected present in the form of snow overnight. So far this has not complicated the work of the railmen in any way. All trains have been dispatched on time since this morning, but attention will focus primarily on a special transport, whose departure has been set for 17.58.

We are watching the assembly of the first military transports that gradually will take home to the Soviet Union the unit manning the SS-12 missiles that has ended its activity in Czechoslovakia.

This is in effect a kind of a prologue, a picture of what is to come, the first step out of the whole of that enormous movement, which, after the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, will then begin on both sides the implementation of the

provisions concerning other nuclear missile systems deployed on the territories of the Soviet Union and the United States, the FRG, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Czechoslovakia is one of the nine countries to which the provisions of the Soviet-U.S. treaty apply. We are witnessing here an event, which as an act of good will and as formulated by Soviet representatives, is already taking place in our country and at the same time in the GDR today even before the Soviet-U.S. treaty has been ratified and, for this reason, today without the presence of U.S. inspectors. The first transport is taking away the mobile parts of the OTR-22 systems, codenamed also the SS-12 system. Other transports will take back to the Soviet Union gradually and separately other parts and nuclear warheads.

[Begin recording in Russian fading into Czech translation] [Unidentified questioner] What have you done to ensure the safety of the transport?

[Unidentified speaker] The safety of the transport is fully ensured. The equipment has been fastened and secured exactly in accordance with our strict regulations, and for this reason there is no danger to the safety of Czechoslovak rail traffic or inhabitants.

[Questioner] What will be the fate of your cargo following arrival in the Soviet Union?

[Speaker] In line with the agreement reached in Washington, as you surely know, whole missile systems will be taken to a place for their liquidation. Special parts will be destroyed and vehicles, engines, and some other parts will be used in the national economy. [end recording]

A total of 55 journalists and photographers were curious to witness the departure of the missiles. They were brought from Prague by special bus. We were allowed to enter as far as the platform. The missiles were loaded at a distant track, several hundreds of meters from the train station itself. Despite this they did not escape the attention of passengers, and so we were able to record on Platform 2 the following voices:

[Begin recording] [Passenger] It's a good thing that these missiles are being moved away from here. It looks as if the international situation will be really better.

[Second passenger] I am glad that it has at last happened, that it has come to this here. Now it only depends on whether the treaty will be ratified, and we have to believe that it will.

[Third passenger] This is giving me peace because I am saying to myself that this will be better for life in peace. [end recording]

It's 0901 and the first heavy transporters with their SS-12 missile cargo are beginning to move. And along with them a garrison, a unit of the missile troops is returning to the Soviet Union. These men arrived in our country in 1983 as a response to the deployment of the U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles in West Europe. The seriously meant peaceful steps taken by world's great powers are today enabling them to return home.

[Begin unidentified political officer in Russian fading into Czech translation] I truly liked serving in Czechoslovakia, but I can say as a political officer of the unit that I have been looking forward a great deal to these moments linked with the elimination of the missiles. I would like to take this opportunity to thank our friends for having created good conditions for our service and life in Czechoslovakia. [end recording]

[Announcer] In the afternoon before the train set off a meeting of Soviet troops with representatives of our Army, representatives and citizens of the town of Hranice and the district of Prerov took place in the compounds of the barracks housing the Soviet unit.

Further Report

LD261127 Prague International Service in Czech 2230 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] The withdrawal of the Soviet shorter-range missiles from Czechoslovak territory has started in Hranice na Morave today. Our special correspondent Frantisek Vonderka telephoned this report:

[Vonderka] It is precisely 2015 and I am able to watch at this railway station the loading of the military technology of the Soviet brigade which has at its disposal OTR-22 medium-range missiles. They are known in the West as the SS-12. These missiles will be transported from their launching position near Hranice na Morave to a designated place in the Soviet Union where they will be destroyed after the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the so-called double-zero option. The withdrawal of the OTR-22 missiles from Czechoslovak territory even before this treaty is ratified is being carried out on the basis of an agreement between the Czechoslovak and Soviet Governments. This demonstration of good will which I am able to watch with my own eyes is to contribute to the strengthening of confidence in the process of nuclear disarmament which our planet so urgently needs in the interest of its survival.

The first train is leaving for the Soviet Union from Hranice na Morave with the armaments and soldiers from the Soviet missile brigade. Their complete withdrawal from Czechoslovak territory is to be concluded by the end of March this year.

The withdrawal of the OTR-22 missiles from Czechoslovakia is a specific demonstration of the interest of the Warsaw Pact states in nuclear disarmament and in disarmament as a whole. It is now up to the North Atlantic alliance countries to behave in a similar way. They do have opportunities to do so.

[Announcer] This is how Frantisek Vonderka, special Radio Prague correspondent, commented on the beginning of the withdrawal of the Soviet operative-tactical missiles from Czechoslovakia.

Lieutenant Colonel Vyacheslav Granovskiy, commander of the missile unit, told to a CTK reporter that the first load with military technology and its service staff—the officers, mechanics, and drivers—set off tonight for the designated places in the Soviet Union.

Colonel General Jan Kryzhan, commander of the Czechoslovak missile troops and artillery, said at the press conference that the Soviet base in Hranice na Morava was the only place of deployment [rozmisteni] of the shorter-range operative-tactical missiles. There are no other shorter-and medium-range missiles in Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak People's Army does not have any nuclear weapons in its arsenal, Jan Kryzhan said.

Withdrawal Assessed

LD252329 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Despite the fact that the Soviet-American INF treaty still remains to be ratified, the Soviet Union has begun withdrawing its shorter-range nuclear missiles from the territories of Czechoslovakia and the GDR. Radio Prague's Radek Wanke comments on the significance of this step:

The Soviet Union has begun the withdrawal of its shorter-range nuclear missiles deployed in Czechoslovakia and the GDR under an agreement with the governments of the two countries, despite the fact that the INF treaty has yet to be ratified by the U.S. Congress and the Supreme Soviet. In other words, this is another goodwill gesture on the part of the Soviet Union in improving relations and building up trust between the East and West.

Let us recall why the Soviet shorter-range nuclear missiles were deployed on the territories of the GDR and Czechoslovakia in the first place. This was done to counterbalance the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. It was a necessary step, because after the Soviet Union had failed to convince the NATO countries of the need to negotiate an agreement about medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, which would be acceptable to both sides [words indistinct] security threatened. The withdrawal of the Soviet shorter-range missiles from Czechoslovakia and the GDR will again upset the balance of forces in Europe. Nevertheless, at the session of the Warsaw Pact countries held in May 1987 in Berlin, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and the Soviet Union agreed to take this step in order to boost the disarmament process in Europe.

This step is being taken at the time when there is good reason to believe that the INF treaty will be ratified before the first half of the year is over, says the proclamation issued by the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry. This step will make Czechoslovakia again a nuclear-free country, said the general secretary of the CPCZ Milos Jakes in his address to the Czechoslovak people on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the victory of socialism in Czechoslovakia, a nuclear free country in a heavily militarized area. We believe that peace and security should not be achieved solely by a reliable defense system. Our priority goal is trust and good neighborly relations in our European common home. That is why, Milos Jakes said, we have a proposal to create a zone with a reduced military confrontation in Europe. Such a step would be in line with proposals for a nuclear-free zone in Europe and would result in closer cooperation among the European countries in other than the military field. We therefore propose a meeting at which all the European countries could discuss the possibility of cooperation of this kind and perhaps come up with their own counterproposals.

Early Western Withdrawal Urged

LD260918 Prague CTK in English 0745 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Prague Feb 26 (CTK)—The West's response to the Soviet act of good will, the withdrawal of OTR 22 missiles from Czechoslovakia before the relevant treaty is ratified, should be similar, RUDE PRAVO said today.

Ever stronger appeals are made in the FRG for an early liquidation of the 72 Pershing 1A missiles which are owned by the Bundeswehr and to which the United States has nuclear warheads, the paper said and added: "The Central European states would not be the only ones to welcome this, as the present time requires everybody to do everything for the nuclear danger threatening mankind to disappear before the end of this century."

Government Discusses Foreign Policy, Economy

LD252137 Prague CTK in English 2020 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government voiced support today for the orientation of the country's foreign policy in 1988, whose main aim is to ensure favourable external conditions for the implementation of the strategy of speeding up the socio-economic development and restructuring in Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak foreign policy will focus on strengthening allround cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Relations with the developing states will continue to play an important place and those with the advanced capitalist countries will further develop on the principles of equality and mutual advantages (special attention will be paid to Czechoslovakia's closest neighbours—the FRG and Austria).

Czechoslovakia will promote, at bilateral and multilateral levels, the positive trends in the sphere of disarmament, the strengthening of security and expansion of cooperation. It will actively participate in concrete initiatives. It will pay

special attention to the development of the hopeful trends in international relations which were invigorated by the signing of the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty.

The government dealt with a report on the visit to Czechoslovakia by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl on January 26 and 27, and agreed that his talks in Czechoslovakia created favourable conditions for the further development of bilateral relations.

The government asked the foreign and foreign trade ministers to submit to the premier, by the end of July 1988, information on the state of implementation of proposals for Czechoslovak-FRG cooperation.

The government agreed with the signing of a Czechoslovak-Soviet intergovernmental agreement on the use of national currencies in settling accounts at the level of direct contacts.

Under the agreement, Czechoslovak and Soviet enterprises which will be authorized to develop direct contacts in production and the sphere of science and technology, joint enterprises and joint corporations will be able to settle accounts in their national currencies. The agreement will guarantee free access to the currency of the partner organization and will therefore mean the introduction of convertibility of the two counties' currencies within the organizations having established direct contacts.

This will be the first agreement of its kind ever signed between two CEMA countries.

The government also agreed that agreements based on similar principles be concluded also with the other CEMA countries. The chief aim remains to gradually introduce the system of convertibility of national currencies of the CEMA countries in multilateral business transactions within the socialist community.

The Czechoslovak Government dealt with a draft agreement between Czechoslovakia and the GDR on legal assistance in civil, family and penal matters which updates the present agreement signed in 1956.

The government also dealt with putting further economic organizations on the list of enterprises involved in an experiment in increasing independence and responsibility for effective development. A debate on this subject confirmed, that this experiment constitutes an important step on the road towards restructuring the economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia.

It dealt with draft directives for further work on a long-term outlook in Czechoslovakia till the year 2000. In formulating these directives, the key aim is to avoid the continuation of the present extensive development of the country's economy.

At the same time the government asked deputy premiers and ministers to elaborate till the end of the year their proposals for a long-term outlook till the year 2005.

'Victorious February' 40th Anniversary Noted

Vaclavik's 'Order of the Day'

LD241723 Prague CTK in English 1602 GMT 24 Feb 88

[Text] Prague Feb 24 (CTK)—"By their victory over the reaction 40 years ago in February 1948 the working class and working people, lead by the communist party of Czechoslovakia, ended their long struggle to overthrow capitalism," Czechoslovak Defense Minister Army General Milan Vaclavik said today in his order of the day on the 40th anniversary of the February victory.

"The road of our homeland to the construction of socialism was open. At the same time, a decision was made about the foreign political orientation of Czechoslovakia which took definitively the side of the Soviet Union and other countries of the originating world socialist system."

Milan Vaclavik said that "the results we have attained in socialist construction were made possible by the fact that our country has been developing as part of the world socialist system. Decisive has been allround cooperation with the Soviet Union and the selfless aid it has been granting us. Our country found firm guarantees of its security in the Organization of the Warsaw Treaty states, and certainty and prerequisites for its economic development in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance."

The Czechoslovak defence minister went on to say in his order of the day "our working people and with them the members of the Czechoslovak People's Army support the peace efforts of the countries of the socialist community and welcome the positive trends which have recently appeared in international relations due to their policy. But we are not forgetting that world imperialism has not yet abandoned its class objectives. To achieve them, it tries to stop social progress and to gain military and strategic superiority over socialism. It exerts strong political, military and economic pressure on the states of the socialist community and escalates psychological war."

Army General Milan Vaclavik added that "in this situation it is essential to raise the combat readiness of the Czechsolovak People's Army and to strengthen the morale and combat qualities of its members."

Jakes Addresses Rally

LD251629 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1403 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a rally in the Old Town Square in Prague to celebrate the 40th anniversary of Victorious February—live]

[Text] Esteemed friends and comrades:

I cordially greet all of you, the participants in today's rally of the working people and youth of the capital city of Prague and the Central Bohemian region, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the National Front, and the federal government, and I congratulate you on the 40th anniversary of Victorious February! [applause]

I greet citizens and youth throughout our country, in all towns and villages, where rallies also are taking place in honor of the glorious victory of the working people in February 1948. Our warm greeting goes to members of the people's militias, which came into existence during the days of February 40 years ago and played a role of exceptional significance, and which—along with the National Security Corps, the Czechoslovak People's Army, and the members of the Border Guards—are vigilantly guarding the revolutionary gains of the people and our socialist system. [applause]

As Comrade Kapek has already said, as was the case 40 years ago, we, too, have assembled today on this historic Old Town Square, which now has assumed a new beautiful look. It was at this very place, which bore witness to both glorious and turbulent events in the history of our country, that Klement Gottwald in the days of February 1948 informed a large militant rally of people about the government crisis, about the attempt by bourgeois reaction to carry out a counterrevolutionary coup. He called on the working people to be vigilant, united, and resolute in the defense of the revolutionary gains of the people's democratic system, to set up National Front action committtees, and to deliver proposals on the solution of the crisis provoked by reaction. Broad stratas of the populace at that time gave their full support to Klement Gottwald's proposals.

During those dramatic moments, decisions were made affecting the destiny, life, and future of our nations and of the Czechoslovak state. The principal issue was who was going to rule in our country, whether it be the working class and along with it all working people from both the towns and the countryside, whether the bourgeoisie would return to power, whether the pre-Munich system would be restored, along with its social and national oppression. The issue also was what kind of foreign policy Czechoslovakia would pursue, whether the alliance with the Soviet Union would be strengthened, which always stood during the most difficult times on the side of our people and which brought freedom to us at the cost of immense sacrifices, or whether Czechoslovakia would again be dependent on the imperialist states, for the policy of which she paid tragically after Munich.

The working class and broad masses of working people led by the CPCZ, having learned from dearly paid-for experiences from the preceding historical development and inspired by the ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution, gave a decisive and unequivocal answer. They placed their trust and support in our party, the people's democratic system, and the socialist perspective. They declared themselves for unbreakable friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Political power has passed entirely into the hands of the working class and the working people. People have become rulers and masters in their country. The path toward socialist construction in our homeland has opened.

Victorious February had a considerable international significance, too. It represented the continuation of revolutionary changes which commenced with the Great October Socialist Revolution. It contributed to the consolidation of the positions of socialism, democracy, and progress on an internatioal scale. It was a victory of party policy and the revived National Front, the victory which was, which is, and which will forever be connected with Comrade Klement Gottwald, the name of a great revolutionary, a true son of our people, and a devoted friend of the Soviet Union. [applause]

The role which was played in the days of February 1948 by the Communist, the working class, and the working people from Prague and the then Prague region will remain forever written in our country's history.

Even nowadays our appreciation and our thanks belongs to them for this. [applause]

The results of the past 40 years of socialist construction has reaffirmed the correctness of the path on which we embarked. The life and conditions of the working people have been fundamentally changed. Exploitation and acute social differences have been eliminated. Czechoslovakia has become a true common home to our fraternal peoples, the Czechs and the Slovaks, and to other nationalities. The growth of the peoples' standard of living rests on the system of firm social guarantees. We have built a powerful industrial base, and rural areas and farming production have undergone great revolutionary changes. The education standard of our citizens has grown significantly and socialist culture has attained important successes. The international position and the security of our state has been consolidated. A great development has also been achieved in Prague, our capital, with the participation of some regions of the republic. Hundreds of thousands of new apartments have been built, a beautiful underground, whose construction continues, has been built. The National Theater—the jewel of our culture—has been restored. Extensive works are being carried out on the restoration of the city's historical center. At the same time we are aware that with the growth of Prague certain serious problems are arising which we are trying to tackle and which have to be dealt with in a responsible manner by respective bodies. We want Prague, of which not just Prague citizens but all citizens of our country are justly proud, to flourish and to become even more beautiful. [applause]

Everything we have achieved is a result of our people's devoted work. Favorable conditions for the socialist development of Czechoslovakia have been created by our friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, by our participation in the development of the international socialist division of labor, and by our membership in the defensive Warsaw Pact alliance. We shall protect, consolidate by all available means, and develop our friendship and alliance with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. [applause] This is in the interest of our peoples and our peaceful future. [applause]

In the 40 years since the Victorious February the path we have followed has not been easy, but it has been successful. It is quite clear from this that we have always achieved success when the Communist Party acted in harmony with its revolutionary mission, worked in unity with the people, creatively implemented the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and was loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Deviation from these principles always results in serious problems in the life of the party and society. This was demonstrated above all in the crisis-ridden period at the end of 1960s from which we have learned the necessary lessons. Our society has now entered a new stage of its development. The essence of the important measures which we are beginning to implement in the restructuring of all spheres of social life is qualitatively higher development and the strengthening of socialism. This is the fundamental difference between what is happening now and that which was taking place in our country in 1968, when the revolutionary achievements of the Victorious February and our ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was threatened. Such is the historical truth, and nothing about this can be changed.

Comrades, the implementation of the bequest of February in the present conditions means the decisive implementation of the conclusions of the 17th congress of the CPCZ, at which Comrade Husak outlined the strategic line of acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our society. This is the basic prerequisite for the further growth of the living and cultural standards of the people and the increase of our country's contribution to the growing authority and attractiveness of socialism. The implementation of this challenging program requires the restructuring of the economic mechanism and broad democratization. Only through active and creative work by the people, increased interest in public affairs, the strengthening of the citizens' feeling of responsibility, and the development of their fruitful activity can we fulfill our tasks, fulfill successfully the humanist goals of socialism.

In the development of self-administration by the people, the deepening of socialist democracy—which we see as the unity of rights and duties—and the development of initiative and responsibility we see the best way to utilize the possibilities and advantages of socialism, to advance faster. This will not be possible without the perfection of the work of the entire National Front, without the improvement of the work of the national committee and their firm link with the citizens. The Central Committee discussed these questions in detail last December. As a sequel to the conclusions of 17th congress it outlined a program of the acceleration of restructuring and democratization and establish an approach to the implementation of the fundamental economic reform. The results of the deliberation of the party's Central Committee have met with the full support of our public.

At present we are focusing attention on the restructuring of the economic mechanism. The challenging tasks stemming from this require an active approach by both the central organs and the enterprise sphere and all working people. One must not wait for orders from the top; it is necessary to adopt an initiative-filled approach everywhere, in the spirit of adopted principles. The basic condition for the achievement of the goals we set ourselves is for people to understand our plans and to support them, above all by good work, by the fulfillment of the tasks of the 1988 plan and the entire 8th five year plan.

The new conditions of management have to be prepared everywhere, in every enterprise and organization. It is necessary to deepen the inter-enterprise financial autonomy more energetically than before to remove the levelling in remuneration, to assert the reward-according-to-results principle, to improve direct management, to accelerate the unitlization of science and technology, to increase labor productivity, to improve the quality and technical standard of output, to reduce production costs, and to introduce order in supplier-consumer relations. This is also a way for our market to be well supplied and for our foreign trade to function well.

In this we see the principal purpose and goal of the work initiative, which is developing broadly in honor of the 40th anniversary of the Victorious February. We hold this initiative in esteem and highly appreciate it.

One cannot expect that restructuring will automatically resolve the problems and shortcomings with which we are wrestling. The decisive thing is to work honestly; to see to it that a high degree of efficiency, discipline, and order is achieved everywhere. In short, the issue is to ensure that restructuring becomes the cause that is the most intrinsic to all working people and in particular to the managerial workers. The communists must be in the forefront. they must be in continual daily contact with people when tackling topical issues of social development. This is also determining the content of the discussions at the annual members' meeting and party conferences now taking place. Gottwald's slogans, "Facing the Masses;" and, "More Work for the Republic—Such Is Our Agitation", sound very topical today. Still, one has to bear in mind that personal example is the best stimulus.

We count on everyone who, in the interest of and for the benefit of socialism, wants sincerely to lend a hand in our common endeavor. A great opportunity to apply drive, courage, and innovation is opening before the young generation, which is gradually assuming responsibility for the socialist development of our country. We want young people to take the initiative in taking part in the struggle for restructuring, to share actively in decisionmaking concerning public affairs. They must be given an opportunity to acquire the necessary experience in responsible positions.

We must be conscious of the fact that not everything will proceed smoothly and without conflicts. Ahead of us there are more than small obstacles and risks. The issue is to create everywhere a climate of high standards, courage, and militancy. The issue is to ensure that public opinion is unequicocally on the side of honest, hard working people who are loyal to socialism, and not sluggards or those who are trying to outwit society and abuse the advantages provided by socialism and who do not contribute to the creation of national wealth.

It is necessary to fight uncompromisingly at all levels against the toleration of shortcomings, against bureaucracy and administration by mere injunction, and against the temptation to let pass any case of the violation of socialist laws and morality. I want to assure you that the party's Central Committee and the CSSR Government will do everything possible to ensure that restructuring does not come to an end half-way and that it is brought to a successful conclusion. [applause]

We rely on the working people of Prague and the central Bohemian region and likewise throughout the republic—workers, cooperative farmers, technical intelligentsia and intellectuals, teachers, scientists, artists, and cultural workers—to follow up in the glorious February revolutionary traditions and by their selfless and creative work to contribute to the realization of the revolutionary tasks we have set before ourselves.

Comrades, the strengthening of peace is an essential prerequisite for the attainment of our aims. We support fully the peace policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state, which expresses the interests of our nations, too. With initiative and in coordination with the other socialist countries we are contributing to the promotion of the new political thinking in international relations. We welcomed the agreement between the Soviet Union and United States on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. We support the proposals to limit and gradually eliminate operational-tactical missiles and other strategic missiles, prevent arms build up in space, reduce conventional arms, prohibit chemical weapons, and resolve regional conflicts by political means. The realization of these initiatives, in which we share, is the way to build a reliable system of mutual confidence and security for all nations.

Comrades, our future, the realization of our intentions, the growth of the peoples' living standards will be decided by honest, constructive work by each of us. Let us get down to it with the same determination, resolve, and selflessness our working people showed in the struggle for the socialist future of Czechoslovakia 40 years ago. We shall use our skills and talents to fulfill the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ congress in the interest of the happiness of the people of our country, socialism, progress, and peace.

Long live the Czechoslovak working people! [applause] Long live our indestructable friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries! [applause] Long live the CPCZ, long live peace! [applause]

Further Report

LD251601 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Excerpt] The working and young people from our capital and the Central Bohemian region gathered at the Old Town Square in Prague at the rally marking the 40th anniversary of Victorious February. Some 80,000 participants welcomed the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, and the federal government, led by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front. Its members were: Gustav Husak, president of the Republic; Lubomir Strougal, federal prime minister; Karel Hoffman, Alois Indira, Antonin Kapek, and Josef Kempny; other members of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee; Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, and Frantisek Pitra, candidate members of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee; Mikulas Beno and Jindrich Polednik, secretaries of the Party Central Committee; and Zdenek Horeni, Marie Kabrhelova, and Miroslav Zavadil, members of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee.

Lenart Addresses Bratislava Rally

LD252151 Prague CTK in English 1712 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Bratislava Feb 25 (CTK)—Slovakia, once a backward country which has become a dynamically developing part of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, is an example of the advantages of socialism, Jozef Lenart said here today.

Addressing a rally held in the Slovak capital on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the February victory of the working people, the member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium, Slovak Communist Party first secretary and chairman of the Slovak National Front Central Committee said: "Together with the other socialist countries we had to make great efforts to protect peace necessary for the construction. [sentence as received] initiatives, which we fully support, add to our joint foreign policy the features of innovation, dynamism and offensiveness". [sentence as received]

Further Coverage of Soviet Missile Withdrawal

AU252023 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Feb 88 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The announced ahead-of-schedule withdrawal of Soviet shorter-range missiles from the GDR will begin tomorrow in the areas of Waren on the Mueritz and Bischofswerda. This was announced by Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a conversation with ADN. This move is the latest evidence of the constructive peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states. It is another specific contribution to the earliest ratification of the historic Soviet-U.S. treaty of 8 December 1987 and it should create favorable conditions for its implementation. The withdrawal of these systems at such an early date, which has been agreed with the USSR, is also directed at strengthening East-West trust and stimulating further positive changes, above all on the European Continent. It is expected in connection with this move that the other side will also take steps to facilitate the speedy implementation of the treaty, said Ambassador Meyer.

Ambassador Meyer stressed that the GDR is acting together with the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact member states according to the principle: No delay must now be permitted in the process of disarmament. In keeping with this position, in a letter to Helmut Kohl on 16 December 1987, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, made a number of specific proposals, the implementation of which would be of far-reaching significance to supporting the process of disarmament.

Soviet Troops Leave Waren

LD251742 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1518 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Neubrandenburg, 25 Feb (ADN)—Members of a Soviet missiles troop unit were seen off this afternoon from the GDR outside Waren station in Neubrandenburg Bezirk. At a rally citizens thanked the Soviet comrades in arms for fulfilling their internationalist duty.

The first secretary of the SED Kreis Executive, a forewoman from the Waren diesel engine works, and the commander of the missile troops unit paid tribute in their brief speeches to the early removal of the missile soldiers and their arms as a significant step toward nuclear disarmament.

The children of Soviet military families received souvenirs from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

Further Report

LD252104 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1726 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Neubrandenburg 25 Feb ADN—With militant workers' and soldiers' songs played by bands of the National People's Army [NVA] and the Soviet Army, the farewell rally for the Soviet missile troops began this afternoon outside the railway station in Waren (Mueritz) (GDR Neubrandenburg area). Taking part were workers of the Diesel engine and the corrugated paper works, the Forsttechnik combine, the food industry, agricultural enterprises and establishments, and institutes of the district. On banners with the inscriptions "For a World Without Nuclear Weapons—From Zero Option to Zero Option," "The Motive For Our Actions Is: My Workplace Is My Battle Station for Peace," and "Thank You, Soviet Soldiers" They expressed their commitment to the socialist policy of peace and to friendship with the Soviet Union.

Their cordial greetings were addressed to the members of the missile troops unit, who are now being withdrawn to the Soviet Union. Families of NVA members handed momentos from Erich Honecker that were accompanied by a personal greeting from the general secretary of the SED Central Committee to children of Soviet soldiers' families. "With this I express the thanks of the working people of the GDR to your parents, who have fulfilled their internationalist task for the protection of peace on the territory of the socialist German state in exemplary fashion," the message said.

Taking part in the farewell ceremony were Johannes Chemnitzer, first secretary of the Neubrandenburg SED Area Executive; Heinz Simkowski, chairman of the area council; and Colonel-General Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. Dr Martin Brummund, chairman of the district committee of the National Front, welcomed the Soviet soldiers, sergeants, and officers.

Bernd Philipp, first secretary of the Waren SED District executive, said: "An historic event unites us at this moment. In the station stands a train ready to take you, dear Soviet friends, to your homeland. We can imagine the joy that fills you." At the hour of departure he recalled the deployment of the Soviet type OTR-22 missiles in Warenhof 4 years ago. "It was the response to NATO's new medium-range weapons in Western Europe. This response was essential for the safeguarding of peace and the protection of the achievements of our socialist community." At the same time came the assurance: "Fight for peace, now more than ever."

He said the preservation of peace and its protection as the most precious thing is the most urgent present task. Innumerable initiatives have been taken for this since the first decree on peace by the Soviet power. "There are no people on earth that have sacrificed as much and

done as much for the defense and safeguarding of peace as the people of the Soviet Union," he said. The Washington summit cleared the way for the first joint agreement on the liquidation of the medium- and shorter-range INF missiles in Europe. "What began to emerge in Reykjavik and what was signed in Washington is now becoming reality. The Soviet Union is withdrawing the medium-range missiles stationed on our territory even before the treaty has been ratified," Bernd Philipp said.

We thank you today for your service to peace, he said. Here we reaffirm what Ernst Thaelmann wrote in the visitors' book of the cruiser "Aurora" during his visit to Leningrad: "We swear to you, red sailors and revolutionary workers, that we will always go along together with the Soviet Union." [passage omitted]

Colonel Viktor Kuzmin, the 44-year-old commanding officer of the missile troops unit, emphasized in his speech that his soldiers and officers fulfilled with honor and dignity their internationalist duty vis-a-vis the allies in the protection of peace and socialism. He praised the close contacts with workers and NVA collectives and with the local party and state bodies. "Today we say a hearty thank-you to all German comrades and friends for the good cooperation, mutual understanding, and their constant support for the military tasks."

The present "Week of Brotherhood-in-Arms" contributes to the further consolidation of the friendship and understanding between the two fraternal countries, peoples, and armies. The members of the troop unit will continue, Colonel Muzmin said, to reliably and vigilantly fulfill their patriotic and internationalist duty together with the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact.

FDJ members and young NVA soldiers then handed the soldiers, sergeants, officer cadets, and officers of the Soviet army souvenirs and presents.

The rally ended to the sound of the 'Internationale.' The Soviet missile troops then boarded the waiting train. At 1600 exactly, Reichsbahn Chief Secretary Regina Stelter gave the signal for departure.

Opponents of Disarmament Criticized

AU251841 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 88 p 2

["He" commentary: "Pinpointed Attacks"]

[Text] The first steps have been taken in the struggle against the nuclear threat. The USSR has reaffirmed that it considers the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Shorter- and Intermediate-Range Missiles to be the introduction to real disarmament, and that it is doing everything for this process to be continued. The GDR has launched an appeal for an "international meeting for nuclear-free zones."

The FRG Government stated that it wants further disarmament steps after the Washington treaty, and that in its view there is no need to modernize tactical nuclear weapons. In Moscow the USSR and U.S. foreign ministers conducted talks to prepare for the next summit meeting between the two states. One of the focal points was the drafting of an agreement for a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons.

It was particularly at this time that outspoken opponents of disarmament made it public that all this was already too much for them. In the magazine EUROPAEISCHE WEHRKUNDE, well-known for such discord and supported by reactionary politicians, arms industry circles, and high NATO officials, the "disastrous consequences" of disarmament are deplored. Truth is unhesitatingly distorted: "In political terms the implementation of the INF treaty means an increase in the risk of a war limited to Europe an extent such as has never existed since World War II." Again the much-hackneyed lie about the threat is used as an argument: "The double-zero option leads to a situation where blackmail is possible. This agreement does not serve German and European security." The conclusion is: One cannot only "express wishes regarding arms control, but also demands regarding the development of armament."

This is where NATO Commander in Chief General Galvin comes in. He plainly expresses his view on the development of armament: "Not only should weapons be modernized, but the number of short-range nuclear weapons (missiles and artillery) should also be increased." Modernization "of all nuclear weapons of all ranges (!) and in the conventional sphere" is necessary.

Particularly at this time, when progress in the spirit of reason and realism has become discernible, the opponents are launching heavy attacks. This is a signal that further disarmament steps can only be taken against the resistance of those who still dream of military superiority and work out scenarios for a new war. It is to be hoped that those entrusted with political responsibility in the West do not allow themselves to be influenced by the opponents of disarmament. After all, it is not a question of increasing security by entering into an arms race against each other, but of achieving security by working together, by eliminating the weapons of mass destruction.

Honecker Addresses Premnitz Workers

LD252107 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1413 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Potsdam, 25 Feb (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has described as a great success the start of operations of a modern and efficient plant for the manufacture of Wolpryla [GDR trademark]

at the "Friedrich Engels" synthetic fiber works, Premnitz (Potsdam Bezirk). The completion of this project will influence broad spheres of the GDR economy, he said in an address to employees of the enterprise, in which he also said:

As is known, this is part of a whole series of investments which are to be undertaken at the Schwedt petrochemical combine, in Premnitz, Pirna, Guben, Schwarza, and elsewhere. Many of these have already been realized. As a whole, they will produce a more than M1-billion increase in commodity production, especially in high-value synthetic fibers and their primary products. In light industry they will then be processed into modern outer clothing, knitwear, curtains, upholstery, and many other products.

You have once again demonstrated through your achievements that the shaping of advanced socialist society in the GDR serves the welfare of the people and the preservation of peace. Your achievements and the achievements of our sportsmen and sportswomen in Calgary are a trademark for our republic, Erich Honecker said. They stand up to scrutiny in every respect.

Our course of the unity of economic and social policy is increasingly helping to shape the face of socialism more attractively. To continue to realize it we need the creativity, the initiative, the commitment, and the sense of responsibility that you have impressively demonstrated.

The production process is in accordance with international standards and has been tried and tested in industry. You are thus successfully continuing, even in our technologically short-lived era, the important traditions of research into chemical fibers in the GDR. Chemical research and production are and remain a trademark of our republic.

The overwhelming majority of the equipment was produced and assembled by combines and enterprises in the GDR, the speaker stressed, praising in particular the part played by young people in the Wolpryla project. This once again demonstrates the striving of young people to master the key technologies to strengthen the GDR and thus shape their own future in socialism.

Even though some loudmouths west of the Elbe and Werra may not want to admit it, it must be said that for the first time in the history of the German people a younger generation is growing up in our country which is forging its own destiny, Erich Honecker said. In our country there is no need for great slogans about freedom and democracy, but in our country everyone can demonstrate through their actions day in and day out, that they are fighting for the freedom and happiness of the people. The welfare of the people is based not on mass unemployment a la Rheinhausen but on full employment.

We want to ensure together jointly that socialism will become increasingly attractive, in terms of production and a rich cultural life. The way socialism turns out depends to a crucial extent on how we shape its system, the speaker said.

In our country the old saying applies: "Everyone is the architect of his own future," and this will remain the case in the future. We have jointly created the conditions, in nearly 40 years of activity, so that this can be the case for everyone, and we are proud of the fact that the workers' and peasants' state in the GDR offers all citizens the preconditions for a better life.

The commissioning of this plant and the whole system of measures which synthetic fiber production will develop for our light industry, which is considerably more efficient, is a model for the linking of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. Everyone can see that it is central management and planning, together with a high degree of responsibility on the part of the combines and enterprises, and local initiative which make it possible to realize such far-reaching projects so successfully.

It was wholly in this sense that the mode of operation of our plan economy was described at the recent meeting with the SED Kreis first secretaries, Erich Honecker said. As has been confirmed, we make most progress when people are persuaded and prepared in good time for new developments, when their proposals and critical comments are taken to heart and when, in short, their innovative spirit, their experiences and their proposals are utilized. "Work with us, plan with us, govern with us," that is socialist democracy in action. We want to ensure together that this democracy will continue to develop for the welfare of the people.

The shaping of advanced socialist society in our country, the mastery of the modern productive forces of our time, the perfection of the production relations in this process—none of this has by any means been completed. Rather, our great work is in the midst of the process of making our society ever more stable in political terms, more efficient in economic terms and, above all, more attractive for the people. That this is not easy we all know from our own experience. Even the program of our party adopted in 1976 states that the shaping of advanced socialist society in the GDR is a historic process of far-reaching political, economic, social and spiritual-intellectual changes.

Today one can clearly see that in our country mastery of the scientific and technical revolution benefits working people. It is highly compatible with the right to work, it strengthens social security, in short it serves the well-being of the people.

It is well known that it is quite different in Western countries. There technical progress is accompanied by mass unemployment from which, in the opinions of the unions, it

is particularly clear that capitalist society is reaching its limits. If one takes into account that in the developed capitalist countries there are 31 million unemployed, then it is clearly shown that socialism is truly the only alternative. This is how it looks if the facts are allowed to speak with the basic differences between socialism and capitalism. We in the GDR will continue along our good path. Not least we have a reason to look confidently to the future because much is pointing to a turn for the better in the international situation. The treaty between the USSR and the United States on the removal of their medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles has reached the phase of ratification. In Geneva negotiations are under way on the preparation of an agreement to halve strategic offensive weapons while adhering to the ABM treaty is the next significant step toward disarmament, which is to be signed at another summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

The GDR is in favor of a nuclear-free world and a secure peace, Erich Honecker said. We are concentrating our efforts on this and are making our contribution to it. In this context I cite the early withdrawal of the shorter-range missiles agreed with the Soviet Union which is taking place from today. As the latest example I name our initiative on holding an international meeting for nuclear-free zones in June 1988 in Berlin, and our call to the international public to support its preparation.

We are not impatient. Everything needs time. But we do advocate that when one step is taken in the area of disarmament policy the next one follows, in order to liberate mankind from nuclear weapons by the year 2000. For this reason we advocate one zero option after another. Radical disarmament in the conventional sphere, both of forces and armaments, is also on the agenda.

Peace is mankind's greatest possession and the disarmament process is of vital necessity. It must be continued without delay and must not be delayed, or even undermined by those who talk of modernizing nuclear weapons rather than removing them. Today it is clear, and there is ample proof of this, that the world cannot flourish in a climate of confrontation and tension but can do so only in an atmosphere of detente and cooperation.

Continued Reportage on Gromyko Visit

Council on Visit

LD251841 Budapest MTI in English
1710 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 25 (MTI)—The Hungarian Council of Ministers held a session Thursday in Budapest. Government spokesman Rezso Banyasz said, among other things, that the Council of Ministers formed guidelines on the social debates related to the preparation of legal measures. The body approved the report of the Central People's Control Committee on the examination of the family assisting centres.

Several themes from Rezso Banyasz's press conference following the session:

On the Visit of Andrey Gromyko [subhead]

Andrey Gromyko, as the head of state of the Soviet Union, is currently in Hungary on his first visit abroad in this function. The fullest agreement and cooperation readiness was developed in the course of his talks with Hungarian leaders. Alongside coinciding long-term goals, the tendency of the reform processes taking place in both countries is also the same. The relations of the two countries, which are being enriched with new elements, and the issues of streamlining the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, figured prominently in the discussions of the Soviet head of state.

Karoly Grosz's Meeting With Writers [subhead]

Prime Minister Karoly Grosz recently held five and a half hours of discussions with a group of Hungarian writers. The discussion included almost all major issues of public life, society and economy. Participants of the discussion were ready for dialogue, and support for the efforts of the government. Very critical views were also aired on the daily contradictions. The writers required even greater confidence, better creative opportunities and further openness, and fully supported the related efforts of the government. Romanian Citizens in Hungary [subhead]

At its Thursday session, the Hungarian Government set up an inter-ministerial committee in charge of the affairs of foreign citizens staying in Hungary. This was made necessary by the fact that foreign citizens are requesting, in increasing numbers, settlement permits in Hungary, for various reasons. Most of the foreign citizens arriving are Romanian citizens, belonging to the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. The Hungarian Government does not encourage this process, however, but considers it a national and human obligation to help people wishing to settle here on the basis individual judgement. The committee set up is to facilitate the integration of recent arrivals and help settle their legal, social-welfare, health, educational and labour problems. Various government organs and social organizations are involved in the work of the committee.

Hungarians in the World [subhead]

This year the World Federation of Hungarians which maintains relations with the Hungarians of the world celebrates its 50th anniversary. The federation maintains ties with over a hundred Hungarian organizations. According to calculations, 1.3 million Hungarian people live aborad, excluding the neighbouring countries. Most of them regularly foster relations with Hungary. The world federation compiles Hungarian text-books and organizes language camps and conferences for professionals in this country and abroad have been successful. Grandparents including pensioners may travel abroad and maintain family ties. Last year 254,000 Hungarians living abroad visited their native country.

Nationality Act [subhead]

The current plans of legislation do not include the elaboration of a new, comprehensive bill on national minorities that was proposed by the Budapest Presidium of the Patriotic People's Front. The Hungarian Constitution declares the equality of all citizens before the law and any discrimination by nationality is a punishable offence. The Constitution also declares that the Hungarian People's Republic guarantees for each nationality living on its territory equal rights, the use of mother tongue and the right to foster their culture. If conditions require and Hungarian MPS wish, the elaboration of a nationality act may be put on the agenda. The advanced legal regulation of the status of national minorities based upon the valid international agreements may also attract international attention. The preparation of the nationality act requires particular circumspection and the opinion of the entire society.

Talks, News Conference Held

LD252129 Budapest MTI in English
2041 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 25 (MTI)—On Thursday the personalities of Andrey Gromyko's party continued partner talks with leaders of Hungary's political and state life. Mihaly Korom, president of the Council of Constitutional Law of the Hungarian National Assembly, met Avgust Voss, president of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, and informed him on the work and practical experience of the council. Avgust Voss also met Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior. The politicians exchanged views on the issues of the socialist system of political institutions, on the modernization of state life and government, and on the work of the elected regional and local organs of people's representation.

Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture and education, met Vladimir Karpov, first secretary of the board of the Soviet Writers' Union. The parties discussed, among other topics, the development of personal relations, the ways of increasing the standard of translator-training, and the importance of Hungarian and Russian studies. They emphasized the role of writers in public culture and in shaping the culture of young people.

At an international press conference Vsevolod Parkhitko, personal secretary of the president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, informed the Hungarian and foreign journalists on the Thursday events of Andrey Gromyko's visit. He reported on the speech Andrey Gromyko delivered at the extended session of the Foreign Affairs Commission of parliament. He said that Friday morning Andrey Gromyko would visit a factory in Szekesfehervar. In the afternoon Hungarian-Soviet agreements will be signed and a joint communique on the results of the visit is expected.

As the last event of Thursday's programme, Andrey Gromyko and his wife, accompanied by Karoly Nemeth and his wife, saw a performance of the Hungarian state folk ensemble.

Gromyko's Address Outlined

LD252138 Budapest MTI in English
1825 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 25 (MTI)—Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Committee of the CPSU CC and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, who is on an official friendship visit to Hungary, attended the extended session of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Hungarian National Assembly on Thursday. The Presidium included Andrey Gromyko, Karoly Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and president of the Presidential Council, Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee and president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of Parliament, Istvan Sarlos, speaker of Parliament, and Avgust Voss, president of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet.

Matyas Szuros greeted the Hungarian and Soviet personalities, and the leaders and members of the Budapest diplomatic corps in attendance and gave briefs on the work of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Then Andrey Gromyko delivered a paper.

Excerpts: The President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet mentioned the developments that had made a favourable impact on the international atmosphere. He said that the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of intermediate and shorter-range nuclear missiles signed during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Washington last December was of outstanding significance. Now mankind expects the soonest possible ratification of this agreement of historic import, Andrey Gromyko stressed. The Soviet politician expressed the hope that the dialogue which had gained new impetus would pave the way for the elaboration of further important agreements. Andrey Gromyko emphasized first of all the importance of the successful conclusion of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on the reduction of strategic offensive wapons. The Soviet Union will spare no effort that the talks end with success, but the outcome depends on the approach of the United States.

The Warsaw Treaty member states have expressed more than once that they are prepared to take part in the elaboration of agreements on the reduction of conventional armaments, Andrey Gromyko said. He took a stand that the new agreements on arms limitation should also settle verification issues, as the missile agreement. Experience shows that these issues can be settled if there is the political will.

Concerning the lengthy senseless Iraq-Iran war, Andrey Gromyko pointed out that the Soviet leadership has sincerely expressed its position on the conflict for both parties, it expounded with full resolution to Iran that the debates causing the blooded conflict should be settled through political means at the negotiating table. At the same time Andrey Gromyko expressed his concern that no mutually acceptable basis of peace has been established between the two countries. He added that the UN Security Council seems to have to again take appropriate steps to cease the conflict. Andrey Gromyko addressed another aspect of the war by declaring that the foreign naval forces sent to the region pose a major threat, and not only to the Arab countries. Moscow takes the stand that the situation in the Persian (Arab) Gulf is explosive and should be settled with no delay, in accordance with the resolution of the UN Security Council. The warships of non-Gulf countries should be withdrawn and freedom of navigation guaranteed by the UN naval forces. The Soviet Union highly appreciates that the Warsaw Treaty member states take a uniform stand on this issue.

Assessing the Middle East situation, Andrey Gromyko emphasized that the region remains a tinderbox until Israel withdraws from the occupied Arab lands and the Palestine issue wins a genuine settlement. He expressed his satisfaction that the Soviet proposal for convening an international Middle East conference is finding growing support among the Arab countries, and that the NATO countries are displaying increasing understanding. The key to organizing the conference is in the hand of the United States and Israel. It depends on them whether or not the conference is convened, said Andrey Gromyko. Assessing the situation in the Caribbean region, the Soviet politician pointed out that the imperialist circles have for years pursued a policy of intervention towards Nicaragua with the aim of overthrowing the people's power. The Soviet Union has supported and continues to support the Contadora process in which the Republic of Nicaragua takes an active part.

In an effort to settle the situation of Afghanistan and in keeping with its agreement with the Afghan Government, the Soviet Union has passed a principled political

decision on the withdrawal of its troops. Under the decisions serving the successful conclusion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, the withdrawal of Soviet troops is to start on May 15, 1988 and all Soviet troops will leave the country in ten months. The schedule was determined with the supposition that the agreements on settlement would be concluded by March 15, Andrey Gromyko emphasized.

In conclusion Andrey Gromyko discussed the future of Europe. He emphasized the importance of the set of agreements that fixed the post-war territorial realities. He termed it as the cornerstone of European peace. The Soviet politician emphasized that the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are prepared to develop relations with all European states in the fields of policy, economy and culture alike. This attitude refers to all kinds of relations, including official contacts and cooperation between various social organizations.

As is known, the Soviet Union proposed to convene an international conference on humanitarian issues in Moscow. This conference would create an opportunity for holding a comprehensive, constructive dialogue on the whole range of humanitarian issues, lend new impetus to the all-European process of detente and raise relations to a qualitative new level.

In conclusion Andrey Gromyko conveyed the appreciation of the Soviet Union for the activity carried out by Hungary for the preservation of peace and international security, and the support of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union.

Gromyko Speaks

LD252355 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1945 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Report on speech by Soviet President Andrey Gromyko to the Hungarian National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee in Budapest 25 February, with recorded excerpts in which Gromyko speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Andrey Gromyko is our homeland's guest. Today he gave a speech to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly.

Matyas Szueroes, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, praised Andrey Gromyko's activities in the political and diplomatic fields and then asked Andrey Gromyko to speak.

In his speech, Andrey Gromyko first of all discussed the preservation of peace and the prevention of nuclear catastrophe, recalling that the states of the socialist community serve this end with their peace-loving policy and with their proposals aimed at the preservation of peace and disarmament. Of the changes in the international atmosphere, the Soviet head of state said the following:

[Begin Gromyko recording] During the visit to Washington last December by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU, a Soviet-U.S. treaty was signed for the elimination of short- and intermediate-range nuclear missiles. Humanity now is waiting with baited breath for the ratification of this treaty. The Soviet leadership hopes that the United States, like the Soviet Union, is endeavoring for this with an awareness of their enormous responsibility. [end recording]

[Announcer] Following this, Andrey Gromyko spoke about the historical significance of the treaty and said that it was important that new agreements be reached in the disarmament talks, for example in the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

[Begin Gromyko recording] In the implementation of the signed Soviet-U.S. agreement, and of the agreement urging the reduction of conventional weapons alike, effective methods of verification must be found. Experience shows that the possiblity for this exists. What is important is that the leadership of the states concerned have the political will and should approach these questions in an objective way.

It is well known that many other problems exist in the world that make the international situation complicated. These questions still represent difficulties even if we can note progress in the area of the struggle waged for disarmament. [end recording]

[Announcer] The Soviet head of state, here, was thinking of regional conflicts.

[Begin Gromyko recording] The situation that has developed in the Persian Gulf region continues to cause concern. The senseless war between Iraq and Iran is continuing. The resolutions of the UN Security Council are not implemented. The Soviet leadership has openly expressed its opinions to both parties. We have quite honestly stated our ideas to Iran in that the elimination of differences, those differences that have led to the bloody conflict, must start from political bases at the negotiating table. Unfortunately, it cannot be said today that a united standpoint, a basis has managed to be found for the creation of peace between the two countries.

At the same time, it must be taken into consideration that the foreign naval powers introduced into the Persian Gulf region carry a great danger in themselves, too, and not just for the Arab states. Everyone today knows what naval powers are in question. We have said this with complete honesty to Washington, too. The Soviet Union urges that the naval units of those states, I emphasize all naval units, which do not belong to the given region should be withdrawn from the Persian Gulf, and that freedom of shipping should be guaranteed in the Gulf under the supervision of the UN naval units.

Naturally, none of the states that conduct politics responsibly can be at ease about the general situation in the Middle East, in connection with all that has developed as a result of the Israeli aggression against the Arab states. We cannot advance in this area until the question of the withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied by Israel has been solved and until the Palestinian problem has received a worthy solution. Until these questions are solved, the Middle East will remain a powder keg that is dangerous and could lead to unforseeable consequences.

We are satisfied that the Soviet proposal to convene an international conference to examine the most burning problems of the Middle East is receiving ever greater support from the Arab states, and the idea is being received with more and more understanding by the NATO states, too. However, the key to convening the conference lies in the hands of the United States and Israel. At present, it depends on them whether such a conference is convened or not. Is it not clear that an international conference organized with the inclusion of the states concerned—the permanent members of the UN Security Council, and the PLO representative, as a participant with full rights—to debate the problems of the Middle East would be appropriate for the international situation as it has now developed? For this, it would be necessary for the United States and Israel to turn that key and open the door leading to the conference. However, we must be careful that this possibility is not ruined by some erroneous step.

The areas of the Caribbean is far from Europe, far from the borders of our countries, but it is a long-proven fact that the fire hazard can spread throughout great distances. All of us are concerned about the fate of a small state, Nicaragua, against which there has been imperialist intrigue for years. The ultimate aim of this is the elimination of the people's power. In our days, a crude, above all, open military intervention is under way in Nicaragua's internal affairs. It is no one's right, not even that of the United States to intervene in the internal affairs of Nicaragua or any other state.

The Soviet Union, as in the past, now, and in the future will continue to support the Contadora process, in which the Cuban Republic also participates actively. All the fraternal socialist states are following this line. [end recording]

[Announcer] Andrey Gromyko went on to recall that in the interests of success in the talks underway in Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan, Moscow and Kabul had agreed that from 15 March Soviet troops would be withdrawn from Afghanistan in the space of 10 months. The Soviet head of state also said that the Soviet Union had proposed the creation of a security organization in the Far East and the Pacific Ocean region which would also aim for the development of relations with the Asian countries and the states of the Pacific Ocean region.

Concluding his speech, Andrey Gromyko spoke about European cooperation which, as he said, could only be conceivable by respecting the sociopolitical unity created by the peoples, and by taking into account the laws and administrative regulations of the participating countries. He praised the Helsinki Final Act, but referred to the fact that advances must be made in cooperation among European peoples.

The convocation of a humanitarian conference in Moscow, as the USSR proposes, would permit a broad and constructive dialogue to be conducted on the whole complex of humanitarian problems, would give renewed impetus to the European process and would raise it to a qualitatively new level. One can regard the attitude shown to our proposal as a sort of touchstone indicating the real attitude toward improving the situation in the humanitarian sphere.

I would like to make use of the opportunity to say that the USSR has a high opinion of the role of Hungary in the struggle for peace and international security and the support which it inevitably gives to Soviet peace initiatives. The Soviet leadership has no doubt that honorable cooperation between our countries will continue to develop successfully in the interests of the peoples of the USSR and Hungary and promote the strengthening of international security and cooperation for the good of all mankind.

We approve of the initiative of the MSZMP, the Social Democratic Party of Finland, and the Italian Socialist Party to organize joint actions by states which do not possess nuclear weapons in the interests of reducing the nuclear threat, reducing conventional weapons, and strengthening trust and cooperation in Europe.

I want to assure you, dear comrades, that the Soviet Union will also pursue a policy in the future aimed at making more effective the cooperation with the Hungarian's People's Republic, with all the socialist countries, for the sake of the common good of our peoples, in the interests of peace throughout the world. [Applause] [End recording]

Varkonyi Received by Indonesian President

LD252225 Budapest MTI in English
2047 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Jakarta, February 25 (MTI)—There are opportunities for the further development of advantageous cooperation, President Suharto of the Republic of Indonesia, said during his meeting with Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi on Thursday.

According to the MTI correspondent, Suharto stressed that Indonesia advocates peaceful cooperation with all states including Hungary, on the basis of equality.

After the presidential reception Peter Varkonyi held talks with Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja, minister of foreign affairs, Radius Prawiro, minister of finance, and Johannes Sumarlin, chairman of the National Development Planning Board.

At the Jakarta Institute for Foreign Policy, the Hungarian foreign minister delivered a paper on Hungary's endeavours and foreign policy.

In an interview Peter Varkonyi said that there are favourable opportunities for founding joint ventures and for the participation of Hungarian firms in the development tenders invited by the World Bank.

Miklos Nemeth Holds Talks With FRG's Kohl

LD251628 Budapest MTI in English 1230 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Bonn, February 25 (MTI)—On Thursday Helmut Kohl,federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, met in his office visiting Secretary Miklos Nemeth of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Cordial discussions were held on timely questions of bilateral economic relations. Miklos Nemeth gave a briefing on progress in carrying out the stabilization programme in Hungary.

State of German National Minority Discussed

AU261253 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 Feb 88 p 9

[Interview with Geza Hambuch, secretary general of the Germans in Hungary Democratic Federation, by Istvan D. Denes: "Let Our Mother Tongue Become Alive Again—To Save What Can Still Be Saved;" date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The year 1988 is also a congress year for the Germans, who are the largest national minority in Hungary. Similar to the other national minority federations, the Germans in Hungary Democratic Federation is also preparing an account on the situation of the German national minority and the federation's activities during the recent period. A few days ago, the federation's steering committee held a debate on the preparations for the coming congress and the 1988 work plan. When Geza Hambuch, secretary general of the Germans in Hungary Democratic Federation, gave this interview, it was inevitable that it should start with an evaluation, an accounting of concerns and efforts.

[Hambuch] When speaking about the German national minority in Hungary, which numbers 200,000-220,000 people, I think it would be improper if we did not speak openly about the constraining circumstances prompt every responsible and honest national minority policy to follow the practical implementation of its own principles continuously and attentively. That is, what really counts in the final analysis is the opportunities an individual has to make use of his rights as a citizen and a member of a national minority.

[Denes] I think that from the point of view of a national minority, the mother tongue plays a decisive role. Some people question the absolute importance of a mother tongue, but according to the experiences of centuries, a mother tongue still is the most important indicator of and raison d'etre for national minority status.

[Hambuch] Those are also my thoughts and when I say that the mother tongue of our national minority is in a severe crisis, I am stating to the main issue. At present, the German language spoken in the communities inhabited by members of our national minority is far from being as alive as it used to be. We cannot use it in everyday life, on the streets, or in public institutions. Naturally this is not because the use of German is forbidden, but simply because it is not understood in the outside world! As a result, there is not enough motivation or encouragement for people to learn German as their mother tongue from early childhood. [passage omitted]

Under present conditions, the task of rescuing the language should first of all be assumed by kindergartens and schools; that is, by better kindergartens and schools than the present ones. For the time being, however the situation is characterized by the fact that the German national minority in Hungary does not even have one general or secondary school where instruction is in German. There is an independent bilingual secondary school only in Baja where, in addition to German language and literature, history and geography are taught in the students' mother tongue, and a secondary school German department can still be found only in Pecs and Budapest. Bilingual instruction in one or more classes is currently under way in 17 general schools—on an experimental basis. We also have no students' dormatories.... [passage omitted]

[Denes] Let us move away from the issue of the mother tongue. What other important conditions are necessary for the German national minority to survive? [Hambuch] On the one hand, it is clear that the majority nationality should do more to implement the principles [as published]. There is talk about the preparation of a comprehensive nationality law. On the other hand, however, I must emphatically stress that the national minority itself should work to improve its situation. Our federation needs greater weight in public, greater independence, and more strength to get things done. Our federation will have to win and also be given a greater role in shaping the fate of our national minority and in implementing national minority policy. [passage omitted]

Medgyessy Outlines Stabilization Program

AU251625 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Feb 88 p 3

["Edited version" of speech by Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy at the MSZMP Political Academy on 17 February 1988: "The 1988 Tasks of the Program of Economic Stabilization"]

[Text] Many people often ask the question why, after less than 2 years following the approval of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, it became necessary to draw up a new social and economic development program, and a subsequent government work program? Why did we have to adjust our economic policy last year concerning issues of fundamental importance?

The recent decisions and regulations contained the right efforts in themselves, but they formulated too many goals. These goals were not always in harmony with each other. These goals also frequently lacked a system for adequate means, and one disregarded the fact that the goals and the available means for their implementation are not simply subordinate to one another, because no system of means can implement unfounded goals. The conditions and institutions of economic management themselves—conditions that are not quite correctly called means of economic management—react to these goals and sometimes question their reality. [sentence as published] Beyond this, the success of the stabilization program depends on the way society accepts it and on its confidence; therefore, it is particularly important to thoroughly consider our fundamental goals not only from a narrow economic point of view, but also to place these goals in the proper social and political dimension, because our problems are not exclusively economic problems either.

It is a fact that, irrespective of the phenomena that caused our losses, be it objective conditions or subjective mistakes, after all it is society that has to pay for these losses. Today the possibilities of the economic policy are limited to considerably reducing these losses, provided there is a realistic evaluation of the situation, a quick recognition and reaction, as well as political and social support. In order to achieve this, however, there is also a need for measures which are mostly unpopular. If the economic policy delays the timely acceptance of burdens in order to avoid a deterioration in the public mood, this will make it inevitable to accept even greater losses later. Therefore, in this critical situation the contradiction between short-term and long-term interests is intensified. This contradiction appears in practice in the evaluation of the requirements for a strict financial policy, a policy which is endorsed by practically everyone. In the case of private households, we regard the fact that there is not enough money for something as an objective limitation; in the sphere of enterprises and institutions, however, many people are still inclined to regard this as arbitrary conduct or a narrow-minded budget or bank decision.

We can draw a genuine picture of the far-reaching set of conditions for the program of stabilization and of the current year—as the first and most difficult year of this process—only if we speak about what has come before, and if we formulate an answer to the question: How did we get into this situation?

Some Lessons [Subhead]

As for the lessons of the past, questions that have been left unanswered affect the public mood and also stir up tempers. Therefore, we must make use of every opportunity to provide honest answers. Although the formulation of these answers is currently under way on a large scale, we cannot delay the economic policy decisions until the historical lessons of the past period can be fully and precisely analyzed.

At the beginning, between 1974-78, we thought that these were temporary changes. Therefore, we did not feel obliged to adjust. Backward steps in the reform process also contributed to strengthening the voluntarist phenomena in our economic policy. The next phase that began from 1979 was essentially a period of macro-level adjustment, when the distribution of income clearly adjusted to performance. As a result of the strict financial policy, these years were characterized by an improvement in our foreign trade balance. During this period, probably due to the contradictions characteristic of this phase of the reform process and to the increase in subsidies and allowances, the microprocesses of our economy failed to adjust to the beginning of a new era. As an example, it is enough to mention the fact that the proportion of new products definitely decreased in those years. Thus, neither the expected improvement in our export competitiveness nor the subsequent increase in performance took place, and this led to a further increase in tax burdens and subsidies which, in turn, made the achieved results insecure.

As for the third period to be mentioned here, starting from an insufficiently founded evaluation after 1984, the prevailing idea was that we had overcome the difficulties, and this idea was reflected in the efforts aimed at accelerating the economy. In this period, there was no genuine progress in the economic reform process, in spite of the Central Committee Decision of April 1984. Thus, problems of economic balance intensified again and the state budget deficit increased considerably. These developments proved that, if there are large subsidies and market effects are weak, then economic acceleration hinders structural reorganization and causes losses.

The partial correction of these processes began in 1987. Subsidies decreased, and this created a more compelling and urgent situation in which to start changes in the production sector. The reform received new impetus. This was the first year when the most effective enterprises received certain allowances. However, these changes did not, and could not yet bring results. Compared to the bottom level of 1986, the processes that started in 1987 represented clear progress, but these processes are far from being irreversible. The worst is yet to come.

The major lesson of the period behind us is that the tensions derived from the weaknesses in our own ability to adjust, rather than simply from the deteriorating foreign conditions because, in the same period of time, other countries—sometimes in spite of losses similar to ours—knew how to adjust to the changes. It has also been proved that the world economic recession is our main problem, but we are facing

structural problems because we were unable to follow the pace necessary for progress in the period of economic prosperity. From the viewpoint of government activity, it is hardly possible to avoid drawing the conclusion that inconsistency in state guidance and an inadequate ability to predict the government's attitude were in fact behind the phenomenon of enterprise tactics.

The question that arises is how to outline the conditions for stabilization. Is it possible—as many people hope—to achieve results now by easing the financial restrictions? The condition for this would be the existence of additional external sources. There is, however, no such source. On the contrary: As our debts have reached critical levels, we must now advance rapidly toward reducing the increase in our debts, and later halting it altogether. This continues to require an active international credit policy, because we repay credits and take new ones for development projects; the difference between the two, however, cannot represent an additional source for the Hungarian economy. What then, is a possible way out? The only path to follow is to consistently assert the principle of performance. We must develop an economic environment which would strengthen the need to be profitable. This requires increased reliance on the integrating and regulating role of the market, but not on an exclusively regulating role.

A Turning Point Must Be Achieved [subhead]

Speaking about 1988, we must mention two things. On one hand, we are talking here about a process which will not even finish by 1990. Elements of stabilization and development are intertwined in this process. We cannot disregard short-term obligations; however, nor can we afford to have timely tasks overcome the strategic goals. The goal is to allow possibilities for entrepreneurs with good ideas and marketable goods and for workers who increase their performance to advance and break through under the current strict financial conditions. The government considers such goals to be certain allowances for technological development; profit tax returns for the best; more liberal wage management for participants in the wage club; advantageous introduction of foreign working capital; conditions for small ventures that accept real risks and work with capital; and the system of competition aimed at increasing the convertible capacity. If all these are successful, then the importance of restrictions will gradually decrease and elements of development will gain ground.

On the other hand, 1988 must really lead to a turning point in changing the old trends. Such a change will not yet appear in results nor in a positive change in distribution, but in an improved domestic and foreign economic balance and in changed norms of conduct for the guiding apparatus, enterprises, and citizens, norms that developed in the past. A fundamentally important requirement, for example, is that the precise fulfillment of financial obligations and the basic enterprise interest of starting from market prospects when deciding on investments should become criteria of success. If all these changes are not strong and firm enough, then sooner or later they will lose their strength and will be obsolete in the face of the obstacles deriving from interests established in the past.

This explains why a considerable proportion of stabilization tasks and unpopular tasks and measures are concentrated in 1988. We must considerably advance in reducing the increase in our debts and in reducing the budget deficit; decisions affecting our standard of living are also mainly concentrated on this year; and the expected differentiation in enterprises—their adjustment or lagging behind—also contains social policy tensions. Therefore, we now need a turning point in consistently asserting the requirements. It is essential for the government attitude to be clear-cut and demanding in this respect. Only this consistency, acceptance of personal responsibility, and broadening of democracy can convince society that its sacrifices are not in vain. As soon as the first results emerge, it will become clear that, in fact, we are not talking about sacrifices here, and not even about public interest, but about an attitude that is also rational for the individual.

Reform Will Accelerate [subhead]

Accelerating the reform process and consistently implementing the economic management changes that have been decided upon are both indispensable for the creation of the conditions necessary for economic development. We must avoid the danger whereby—giving in to the pressure exercised by the enterprises and, unfortunately, often also by the guiding apparatus and public organs—measures are taken that counterbalance the restructuring effect of these changes, measures that discredit our programs. Perhaps it is not useless to mention here the danger of trivializing concepts that are of primary importance for society. According to an old saying, if we want nothing to change then we must change everything, and this danger is present today concerning the reform.

Today, we already know a lot about the necessary changes. Some concrete measures are being carried out, like, for example, the introduction of a uniform entrepreneurial tax which is impartial to competition [versenysemleges] and which covers all the enterprises and ventures, or the new law on associations. The most important thing now is to find the internal mobilizing force which will integrate the various reform measures into a uniform organic system and will thus determine progress.

From this point of view, it is essential for us to find the conditions for rationally activating public property. One thing is certain, it is impossible to deal effectively with state property by means of state administrative methods; this does not unite people, on the contrary, it alienates them. It is also certain that fundamental interests related to economic activity and that bring long-term profits must appear in some form in a permanent way, and these interests must sometimes also accept conflicts with the short-term interests. We must strive to create conditions under which the multitude of various forms of property are capable of

developing themselves, reorganizing, and setting up joint ventures, in addition to determining the role of public property. The need to perfect the institutional system of the flow of manpower, money, and capital, and to create conditions that enable the flow of every source of power and manpower to areas where their activity is assured are other important conditions for the rational management of our assets.

Of course, I have in mind a system which is influenced by the state because these markets cannot operate on their own anywhere in the world—particularly not in a socialist country. There is a need for government influence, but it makes a difference what methods are used. We must seek methods that are adequate for the type of economic management we intend to use in the coming years.

The other important issue is reforming the distribution system that includes the wage system, social policy, housing management, and also the financing of the infrastructure and of public services.

In our social policy we have to move towards the principle whereby the state guarantees a minimum amount of allowances, and where the principle of compulsory insurance is present in another area of allowances (that is, there are strict relations between allowances and the payment of contributions); and last, although it is still insignificant, voluntary insurance can also play an increasing role in the future. We must also thoroughly analyze the long-term role played by the state, local communities, and by the population in providing public services.

It is obvious that, if we allow economic laws to assert themselves more freely—and this is the only road to follow—then social policy requirements will inevitably follow these laws. Only this way will the changes deriving from the effects of economic laws become tolerable or acceptable for society. And this requires the assertion of the basic principle that processes must be activated in accordance with their functions. In this respect, there has not only been confusion of values, but also a disturbance in functions in Hungary in recent years; moreover, it might also be true that functional disturbances primarily and often directly lead to a confusion of values.

Critical Points [subhead]

In this year of shifting, several factors hinder an increase in our performance. We must take into account the limits on capitalist imports, and to this end, we will reduce market demand by, last but not least, curtailing the domestic purchasing power. Obviously, this is also an element that limits performance because, where there is greater competition for imports, we could achieve greater results.

In addition, we are in a situation in which we cannot spend the income deriving from export surpluses either, because in this case we would increase the disturbances in the balance. The income surplus thus achieved should be reflected either in savings or in improving the budget balance. The fact that our capacity to export to the socialist countries is also limited is another factor that hinders performance.

The difficulties encountered by several enterprises will inevitably increase in 1988. Therefore, the enterprises will have to take this situation into consideration. The best solution, of course, would be for the enterprises themselves to find a way out of the danger zone. However, further enterprises are expected to become insolvent. As for rehabilitation, this concept must be reinterpreted. In the practice of past years, rehabilitation meant that the enterprises in question prepared the necessary bills and then, following some debate, the affair came to an end. There will be no such thing in the future. We must prepare for something else: Rehabilitation procedures in recent months show that, following such decisions, several hundred jobs unfortunately ceased to exist, including managerial positions. The enterprises must take into account the fact that, from now on, they will have to rely primarily on themselves in solving their problems, partly because the government does not have enough sources to help, and partly because it does not intend to throw in a life preserver because this only leads to leisureliness, removes the enterprises' difficulties, but also accumulates the problems facing the people's economy. Some major rehabilitation procedures carried out recently have already used up a considerable proportion of the funds available for this purpose.

Of course, the government's attitude should aim at activating an employment policy that is able to deal with the problems connected with curbing and eliminating the activity of enterprises. It is in the interest of the socialist state—and of modern states in general—to avoid unemployment. We are striving to reduce unemployment, not only by means of social policy measures, but also by creating new jobs and retraining personnel.

The critical point of the current year is to assert the restrictions imposed by the banks. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, the program of stabilization cannot be successful without a stricter banking attitude, because the essence of our problems is that there is no harmony between performance and the amount of money in circulation, and this can lead to a deterioration in the balance between the stock of goods and the purchasing power, and to inflation. In order to avoid this, however, the banks can do nothing but adjust the amount of money in circulation to performance; in other words, it is necessary to withdraw money from circulation. At the same time, however, there is also need for differentiation and adequate flexibility.

Inflation is the critical issue of our economic activity. One cannot sufficiently stress the fact that the causes of inflation are deep-rooted, and the given structure of the economy "generates" inflation, irrespective of our intentions. One reason for this is that the product structure and expenditures of production and exports do not fulfill the requirements and the conditions of competition. Thus, Hungarian labor is losing value abroad. Lack of

harmony between performance and incomes—for example, the income deriving from subsidies—also has an inflationary effect, because there is not an adequate supply of goods, while incomes accelerate the demand.

The poor capacity for adjusting the supply of goods and the lack of harmony between supply and demand are both inflationary factors. Among the major causes of inflation we must also mention the self-inducing effect of inflation. If this effect becomes permanent, it will become part of the enterprises' and consumers' expectations, and it would be increasingly difficult to overcome.

It is impossible to defeat this process by tightening up prices, because this would lead to shortages and the emergence of a black market. Therefore, the consistent anti-inflationary attitude of the government should concentrate on eliminating the causes of inflation. That is why we need a strict monetary policy. We should deliberately strive to widen the supply of goods. Temporary administrative means to handle the situation are also unavoidable, because inflation must be kept at a level that is tolerable for the population and the government sticks to the price plans. The government's attitude is also part of this issue, since it should refrain from taking any measures in the future that might fuel inflation. A price consultation system should be established in a determined area—partly connected with a more liberal wage management—and the Hungarian Economic Chamber can provide great assistance for such a consultation system by bring the interested partners together prior to increasing prices, precisely in order to avoid such an increase in prices. Concerning the price policy, a sound attitude on the part of enterprises will also become one of the basic conditions for a more liberal wage management and for membership in the wage club, and we will follow this attitude with attention. Authorities will severely punish dishonest and disproportionate prices and violations of the rules. In addition to the aforementioned consultation, state intervention to develop the market can also help ease the imbalance deriving from monopolistic situations and from temporary market disturbances. There is a need for a commercial attitude, considered to be in short supply nowadays, by which the seller prefers to sell more cheaply if he is oversupplied or if he has a big stock of perishable goods, in order to reduce his losses.

Lessons From the Beginning of This Year [subhead]

In a year in which such essential economic policy changes are taking place, the basic issue is whether production and turnover have been undisturbed. Apart from smaller shocks, one can say that January production and turnover were undisturbed. Production increased by slightly more than 2 percent, and exports also show favorable dynamics; and, although imports also increased somewhat, there is a more promising development in export-import relations.

The new taxes have been introduced. Although there have been slight disturbances, the general turnover tax is operating as a system. The repricing activity of the commercial sector, which was carried out in a short time, is commendable. A shortage of certain technical means and the various forms to fill out is causing problems, but we are working on eliminating these problems. The grossing up of wages was also carried out in an orderly way and with an insignificant number of complaints. There were perceptible tensions in two areas: in the enterprise leaders' incomes and in the case of budget organs. As far as the latter are concerned, and particularly the settling of teachers' problems, adequate resources are available in the budget to solve these problems, but institutions themselves can solve the majority of their problems by carrying out internal adjustments.

Of course, economic activity can never be separated from the public mood and the social policy background, and this is particularly true of today, when the mood is tense. This is a great problem because, under such conditions, it is definitely not easy to implement unpopular decisions whose time has come. But we are late, and we have no other choice: We cannot postpone the necessary measures and we cannot modify the planned steps. We are now witnessing a specific change and reorganization in the public mood: In the past, society was not in fact aware of the entire situation, and then it quickly became acquainted with the reality; this also causes disturbances. At the same time, perhaps as a result of the attitude that is customary in Hungary, it seems as if we have lately been swinging to the other extreme. All of a sudden, everything is now bad and one encounters despair, confusion, and in many cases even an attitude of wait and see. We have neither a reason nor possibilities—nor time, for that matter—for such an attitude, and there is a great need for the confidence and self-confidence which can help us solve our problems.

Broadening democracy is the basis for renewing public consensus, and the necessary social conditions for this are maturing at present. Therefore, and based on this, one can claim with certainty that a renewed Hungarian society can advance from today's difficult situation.

Attitude to Church, Believers Evaluated

AU251512 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Feb 88 p 1

[Editorial by Andras B. Balint: "A Dialogue"]

[Text] In a LUDAS MATYI cartoon, one can see nine deeply concerned people sitting around a table. The chairman says in a resigned voice: "Comrades, this is such a difficult problem that here we can only count on the help of the church."

Due to the nature of satire, this commentary is distorted since we know that it is not the task of the church to show the way out of the country's social and economic difficulties. But the way out cannot be found without the active participation of the members of the churches and the masses of the believers. A good 10 years ago, the newspapers carried a suggestion made by a well-known psychiatrist to recruit priests to save neglected youth, alcoholics, drug-abusers, and suicide candidates. The

official answer the psychiatrist then received was the following: "All right, but what will happen if the priest converts those who turn to him?" This incident does not require any commentary. At present it is already clear to both Marxist thinkers and civil servants that saving life is more important than fighting for one world outlook or another. In intensified personal and social situations, one should keep sight of the values and interests of the affected person, community, or stratum.

Both as organizations and as communities, the churches are increasingly active in taking their share in alleviating our oppressive social, cultural, and social welfare difficulties. Are the churches relieving the state institutions from doing their duty? No; the churches are cooperating with them. It seems that in recent years we have been witnesses of and participants in a new turn, in the course of which theoretical debate has changed into practical dialogue and joint action. Mutual prejudices are disintegrating and admission and understanding are replacing prestige. And this has occurred on both sides.

The February issue of TARSADALMI SZEMLE publishes a study concerning several aspects of this dialogue. Jozsef Poor says that Marxism cannot negate all that is taught by religion. Religion's movement "into socialism is accompanied by a gradual resurgence of religion's qualitative features; and intensifying these features in the various spheres in the life of society will enable the development of various forms of cooperation and association with the believers and the churches."

Professor Poor also speaks about how the Hungarian churches have shifted from sharp confrontation with socialism to accepting and theoretically and ethically taking up the new social order. Was the road bumpy? Yes, it was. But these days it seems as if the carriage jumped a little less, and—as seen from the driver's seat—a more friendly landscape met one's eyes, a landscape that is both inhabited and shaped by people.

Artists' Representation Abroad To Change

LD261129 Budapest MTI in English
0924 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 26 (MTI)—The decades-long practice of artists' mediation is to shortly change in Hungary. The monopoly of "interconcert" will cease, and all organizations with adequate conditions can be granted the right of mediation. The measure is expected to create sound competition between the mediating ventures, which will improve the publicity of Hungarian culture aborad and of foreign culture in Hungary.

Mediation incomes are to be used to support exchanges of prominent artistic groups and copyright purchases. Prospective applicants for mediation rights are the Hungarian state folk ensemble and the metropolitan operetta.

"Interconcert" is to adjust its inner structure to the new situation to improve the representation of artists and retain its network of 600 partner institutions in some 50 countries.

"Interconcert" closed a successful year in 1987, with a contractual turnover worth 1,040 million forints. Revenues from guest performances abroad totalled 4 million dollars, 800,000 dollars more than in 1986. Last year 16 Hungarian artists or groups performed abroad on daily average, including ten representatives of classical music. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Plans Official Midyear Visit

AU251517 Paris AFP in English
1451 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25 (AFP)—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will pay an official visit to Poland around the middle of the year, a Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman said Thursday.

The visit will be Mr. Gorbachev's first official visit to Poland since he took over as Soviet leader in 1985, although he has been here twice for other purposes.

No precise dates have been set for the visit, the spokesman said.

Mr. Gorbachev will brief fellow Warsaw Pact leaders here after his scheduled summit meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Moscow, which is scheduled for May or June.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman's News Conference

LD252132 Warsaw PAP in English
1815 GMT 25 Feb 88

[By Stanislaw Filipczak and Janusz Dworecki]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25—Review of Polish visits by Milos Jakes, Vincent Tabone and John Whitehead, and Marian Orzechowski's Soviet and Indian visits, announcement of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland, disarmament problems, regional conflicts, and Poland's relations with Italy and Greece—these were the major topics of a press conference Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman Stefan Staniszewski held today for home newsmen and foreign correspondents accredited to Warsaw.

Review of Milos Jakes's Visit to Poland [subhead]

Commenting on the February 8 working visit to Poland by Secretary General of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's Central Committee Milos Jakes, Stefan Staniszewski said, in part:

The fact that it was the new secretary general's only second foreign visit, after his trip to Moscow, is by no means accidental. It reflects the real special importance of relations between the two states and the resulting interest the two leaders display towards constant dialogue.

We have welcomed, just as the Czechoslovak side has, the course and results of Milos Jakes's visit with utmost satisfaction. A dialogue on this level will be continued. This year, other important meetings and talks between representatives of the two countries will take place. The high dynamics of trade turnover (12 to 13 per cent annually) will be maintained. Poland and Czechoslovakia are each other's second (after the Soviet Union) major trade and economic partner. It has been resolved to accelerate direct economic cooperation between economic enterprises and organizations, to tighten collaboration in investment projects according to the joint up-to-the-year-2000 programme as well as to consolidate actions for more rapid implementation of new mechanisms of the CMEA's operation.

The two sides will embark upon designing a programme of intensification of contacts and cooperation between youth. Measures will be taken in order to deepen and expand cooperation in the superstructure. Also talks will be initiated with a view to stepping up and facilitating personal, tourist and border-zone traffic.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Milos Jakes have displayed complete agreement of opinions as to major international issues. This applies also to the review of current West Germany's policy. The two sides have been firm in supporting peace initiatives of the Soviet Union.

Maltese Foreign Minister's Visit [subhead]

Early this month, Malta's Minister of Foreign Affairs Vincent Tabone paid a visit to Warsaw. Poland has good, both political and trade relations with Malta. The foreign policy of this Mediterranean country, its position of neutrality and non-alignment, its activity in international dialogue and cooperation find respect and recognition in Poland.

European security, the Foreign Ministry spokesman went on to say, is closely related to the developments in the Mediterranean basin. This region, however, lacks any reflexes of the positive developments in alleviation of tensions in Europe, and specially after the well-known Soviet-American agreements were signed during the December summit in Washington.

We are concerned, he said, about the currently considered NATO's plans to compensate for elimination of American missiles in the Mediterranean with modernization and development of other classes of weaponry and infrastructure.

More on Whitehead's Polish Visit [subhead]

At the turn of January U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead paid another visit to Warsaw. That event was an important leap forward in the normalization of Polish-American relations, ongoing for some time now. A next step in Polish relations with the U.S. will consist in elevating the dialogue to a higher level. Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski will pay an official visit to the United States this year.

Whitehead's visit expanded the scope of Polish-U.S. dialogue, and a possibility of further progress is taking on a shape. We pay more and more attention in our relations with the U.S. to economic issues as they will make up the substance of our future contacts. The United States has been an important economic and trade

partner for Poland, but the present situation in the mutual relations to this effect does not match the needs and potential of the two countries. And hence the emphasis we place upon the results of the recently-completed session of the joint commission for trade.

Orzechowski's Visit to USSR and India [subhead]

Between February 8 and 12 Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs and PUWP CC Political Bureau member Marian Orzechowski paid an official visit of friendship to the Soviet Union, Staniszewski recalled. Minister Orzechowski's visit to the USSR fully confirmed yet again the closeness and importance of our mutual relations.

A few days ago, Minister Marian Orzechowski started his visit to India, the Foreign Ministry spokesman continued. Our relations with that country, which is so active in the movement of non-aligned countries, are based on good and long traditions and encompass all domains. We are eager to, first of all, intensify and develop new forms of economic cooperation, and there are favourable conditions for this.

Cooperation between our two countries in key international problems has been developing very well since for years now we have noted with satisfaction a convergence of opinions between Poland and India on most important issues of the contemporary world.

Minister Orzechowski will next pay visits to Thailand and Malaysia. His trips to those countries and his talks with the hosts are going to be an expression of our interest in development of mutual relations. They also bear testimony to the importance Poland attributes to further development of cooperation with developing countries.

Gorbachev's Prospective Visit to Poland [subhead]

In the forthcoming months, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev will pay an official friendly visit to Poland, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. It will be an event of special importance for the consolidation of Polish-Soviet political, economic and ideological cooperation as well as for the two societies getting closer together. It will undoubtedly have some broader, international dimension.

Replying to newsmen's specific questions dealing with the visit's date and programme, Stefan Staniszewski said it would probably take place in early summer, after the Soviet leader's scheduled meeting with Ronald Reagan. There is no doubt that Mikhail Gorbachev will present the course and results of his summit meeting during his visit to Poland, he said.

Staniszewski also said that Poland's Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner would pay a visit to the Soviet Union as early as this spring.

Disarmament [subhead]

Speaking about disarmament problems, Staniszewski said that Poland's dialogue with other countries was chiefly based on her concern over European and world security, and subsequently—Poland's security, the Jaruzelski Plan being the pivot of Polish activities in this regard.

We note with satisfaction the emerging, realistic chances for a future USSR-U.S. agreement on a 50-percent reduction of long-range strategic nuclear missiles.

Chances are also that a multilateral agreement will be signed in the near future on the elimination of chemical weapons, although one should note that certain Western states quite unnecessarily hamper efforts undertaken in this field.

What is becoming significant after the signing of the INF treaty is the question of conventional and tactical arms reductions. We support the Soviet proposal that negotiations should cover the so-called binary weapons as this would enhance military stability at a lower level of forces and armaments.

The approach of Warsaw treaty states to the liquidation of asymmetry in conventional arms reduction has a package character. What matters is a reciprocal arms reduction by either side in case one of them has an advantage (eg. tanks-aircraft), so that the overall balance of forces may remain intact. This question is also covered by the Jaruzelski plan.

Regional Conflicts [subhead]

Regional conflicts also rank high in Poland's dialogue with her foreign countries. We broadly present Poland's view on these questions, stressing our interest in speeding up resolution of these conflicts which create flashpoints in various regions of the world. We rejoice over the emerging prospects of solving so long-lasting conflicts as those around Nicaragua, Kampuchea or Afghanistan.

As far as the Afghan conflict is concerned, of immense significance is the recent statement by Mikhail Gorbachev on the start of the Soviet troops withdrawal from Afghanistan, to begin on May 15 and to end within the following ten months. This is a new significant step of the USSR, a sign of striving for a quick and definite end to the civil war in Afghanistan. At that, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the resolution of the Afghan conflict would have the utmost impact on other regional conflicts.

We expect that just like the USSR, also other countries and particular Afghan groupings will show good will and work in favour of an agreement which will have an essential significance on the development of the situation in the region, and that will be convergent with the current tendencies in the international situation.

We regard the Afghan leadership's stand as realistic and meeting national reconciliation halfway.

We count on agreements being reached in Geneva during another round of Afghan-Pakistani talks.

We think conditions have emerged for the year 1988 to see an essential breakthrough in solving the Afghan issue. Poland, adhering to the principles of her peace policy, is ready to contribute to this process.

It is common knowledge that also the governments of Nicaragua, Angola and Kampuchea submitted far-reaching compromise proposals which, in our opinion, should lead to regulation of the conflicts in this region. We lend our complete support to these efforts.

As for the Iraq-Iran conflict, which has persisted for years now, the number 598 resolution of the U.N. Security Council provides a good footing for the conflict's termination. Poland supports the efforts by the U.N. secretary general aimed the resolution's tenets to life.

We also declare ourselves in favour of the idea to convene an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all parties concerned. It is generally known that the Polish stand is to condemn the Israeli occupation of the seized Arab territories and the current treatment of Palestinian population by Israeli authorities. Current developments in the Israeli-occupied territories indicate that it is even more imperative to solve the conflict by peaceful means.

Polish-Italian Relations [subhead]

Replying to a question about the current situation in Poland's relations with Italy, the spokesman said:

If all Poland's links with Western countries are taken as a reference point, then Polish-Italian relations are ones of those most developed. They encompass all major domains: politics, economy, culture, and science. They are based upon the sound foundations of traditionally long friendship and cooperation.

Among the NATO states, Italy has been the first country with which Poland normalized her political relations.

The two sides hold an enlivened dialogue at the top state level. Also political parties and organizations maintain useful forms of contacts. Considerable accomplishments have been achieved in the fields of youth exchange and cooperation between towns.

All this gives grounds to say that a firm footing has been established between Poland and Italy for development of comprehensive cooperation and it can serve as an example of relations between countries with different social and political systems and belonging to opposing alliances. Further enrichment of the forms of cooperation on the political plane is to be expected, including intensification of state and government contacts.

The favourable climate in mutual political contacts has yielded tangible results in the field of economic cooperation. A considerable growth in trade turnover and expansion of industrial cooperation is a manifestation of this.

Polish-Greek Relations [subhead]

Stefan Staniszewski similarly reviewed Poland's relations with Greece. He said, in part:

The development of Polish-Greek political relations is encouraged by the will to enhance dialogue and mutual cooperation in all domains, as expressed on the top level, and also by the two states' convergence of stances towards major international problems.

Favourable cooperation on the political plane provides a stimulant for development of relations in other domains. Both sides place special emphasis upon elevating economic cooperation and trade exchange onto a higher level as the two countries consider their current level unsatisfactory. There exist possibilities for their development and expansion into new domains and form.

In the field of cultural cooperation as well steps have been taken to obtain broader reciprocal presentation of the achievements of our cultures to the people of our countries. There is no doubt that Greek Culture Minister Ms Mercouri's visit to Poland this year will contribute to intensification of contacts on this plane.

Polonia [subhead]

Discussing the improving relations with Polonia, the Foreign Ministry spokesman presented figures as to the number of people of Polish descent abroad. In all, some 15 million persons of Polish extraction are staying outside Poland. Majority of them live in the U.S. (some 10 million), in Brazil, France and West Germany (800 thousand each), in Canada (400 thousand), Australia (150 thousand), Great Britain (120 thousand), Sweden (45 thousand). According to Soviet data, there are 1 million 200 thousand Polish people in the USSR, 70 thousand in Czechoslovakia, and 40 thousand in the GDR. Major Polonian environs in the Soviet Union are situated in Lithuania (250 thousand), and in Belorussia and the Ukraine. Staniszewski said also that 96 various Polish-speaking state schools operate in Lithuania.

Delegation Ends Talks With FRG Officials

LD260934 Warsaw PAP in English
0045 GMT 26 Feb 88

[By PAP Correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, Feb. 25: The board of the Polish-FRG group at the Polish Sejm, headed by PUWP CC Political Bureau Alternative Member, Deputy Stanislaw Bejger, ended on Thursday a several-day, first visit to the FRG, paid at the invitation from the Bundestag.

The Polish guests met with the boards of all the floor groups at the Bundestag and with representatives of the Federal Government.

Both sides worked out a document in which they declared the will of active participation in the process of normalization and agreement on the basis of the Poland-FRG treaty from Dec. 7, 1970, and the will of the implementation of the treaty.

Welcoming the results of the negotiations of world powers, both parliamentary groups also noted the necessity of making their own contributions by European states the example of which is, among other initiatives, the Jaruzelski Plan.

Both parliamentary groups expressed hope that the better climate in mutual relations, owing to the visit by Minister Genscher to Warsaw, among other things, would positively influence the process of undertaking concrete steps aimed at preparing grounds for the mutually advantageous visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Poland. It seems that the time has come to achieve a real, positive break-through in the process of agreement.

Both groups are willing to contribute to the promotion of scientific and technological cooperation between both countries and of ventures in the field of enviroment protection. They also support animation and expansion of long-term economic-political cooperation.

The deputies also exchanged views on observances of the 50th outbreak of World War II.

The Polish delegation invited Bundestag representatives to pay a visit to Poland next autumn. The invitation was accepted.

Orzechowski Meets Indian Finance Minister

LD252251 Warsaw PAP in English
2127 GMT 25 Feb 88

[By PAP correspondent Krzysztof Mroziewicz]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 25—Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski, now on an official visit to India, met on Thursday with India's Finance Minister Narayan Dutt Tiwari.

The two expressed satisfaction over progress that had been made in recent years in the development of economic-trade exchange between Poland and India. They pointed to the need of intensification of cooperation through the application of new forms and instruments, in particular of joint ventures at the territories of both countries and on third markets. The ministers discussed issues concerning increased trade, credit facilities and export guarantees.

On Wednesday Orzechowski held talks with representatives of Bombay's economic circles and met with the leaders of the Bombay-based Indian-Polish Chamber of Commerce.

Partners from Bombay receive one third of Poland's total exports to India and supply some two thirds of India's total exports to Poland (reaching 170 million dollars).

Concludes New Delhi Visit

LD260945 Warsaw PAP in English
0753 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] New Delhi, Feb 26—Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski ended today his official visit in India.

Orzechowski, seen off by Indian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Natwar Singh, left for the southern regions of India where he will visit several industrial enterprises and scientific centres which cooperate with Poland.

Weekly Views U.S. Jews, Anti-Semitism

AU251518 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
13 Feb 88 p 9

[Artur Sandauer article: "Poles and Jews—Birds of a Feather"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Anti-Semitism is rooted in the Christian mythical "image" of the Jew as a dubious being, a holy being that has been damned. This image presents the Jews as the chosen people who have renounced their status of the chosen. [passage omitted]

It is possible to combat anti-Semitism by changing the ideas and enriching one's knowledge about the Jews, but not by changing one's feelings. Like any other nation, Jews are a product of history. They are neither faint-hearted, nor vindictive, nor keen on money. They had to become traders, because for centuries they were not allowed to till the land. They had nothing to fight for because for centuries they were second-class citizens. And so on and so forth. [passage omitted] The anti-Semites in Poland have their counterparts in the United States, where the Jews are stronger and where one can often read or hear it said that "Poland is a classic country of anti-Semitism." [passage omitted] On 14 December 1987 NEWSWEEK published an interview with the U.S. conductor Gilbert Levine, who had been invited by Penderecki [Polish composer] to visit Krakow. The interview, which was sympathetically entitled "New Ways of Understanding," contains not so sympathetic insinuations. I cite:

[NEWSWEEK] In view of Polish traditional anti-Semitism, how will you find yourself as a Jew in the country in which the Jewish community is now only a fraction of the old community?

[Levine] I have talked about this with my mother-in-law, who spent 3 years in Auschwitz. She said that if I thought a trip like that would benefit me as an artist, I should go. When I asked her why she thought I should go, she said that a Pole had saved her life. We should search for new ways of understanding. We must not forget the victims of the war (for which Poles are supposed to be responsible—Sandauer), but it would be a terrible thing if I took political considerations into account when playing for the public and trying to make it as happy as only music can make happy. Poles have saved the lives of many a Jew, and I think I will do good by going to Poland.

It is astonishing how the positions assumed by NEWSWEEK and Levine remind us of the positions assumed by our writers—Grochowiak and Wyka. Both sides are full of good will, but their knowledge of the facts is feeble. We know what Grochowiak thinks about the Jews, but NEWSWEEK and Levine, too, show that they are not quite informed when they half accuse the Poles of some responsibility for the [Jewish] tragedy during the occupation. In both cases conscious philo-Semitism reneges on subconscious anti-Semitism. In both cases disinformation is to blame.

The only thing to do is to supply better information. Of course, the struggle against the false ideas that the West has about us is not easy, because we do not possess the Western mass media. At every step we will continue to encounter people who stubbornly repeat: "But why did Hitler select Poland as the site of murders?" "But why did the Poles not save more Jews than they did?"

As for what we should do at home.... We have tended for a long, long time to pass over in silence thorny issues. When a few years ago I published the book "About the Situation of a Polish Writer of Jewish Origin," a majority of the reviewers took the view that I vented my own bitterness since the problem of such writers did not at all exist in Poland. But it does exist. What should we do about it?

1. It is necessary to prevent anti-Semitism from being publicized either openly or in whispers. Anti-Semitic whispers occur very often. There are even organizations that camouflage their anti-Semitism by claiming that they are "anti-Zionist." Well, Zionism is the Jews' wish to return to the Zion, that is, to rebuild the state of the Jews. The moment that state was created in 1948 (the USSR and the socialist countries voted for it) that wish was achieved and Zionism ceased to exist as an ideology, although its world organization continues to exist.

Later territorial annexations are a foreign policy issue, one which has nothing to do with the very existence of the Jewish state and with the real meaning of Zionism. The dispute involves only the borders and the treatment of the Arabs.

2. The Jews' cultural heritage—not only the architectural and literary heritage—should be incorporated into the Polish cultural heritage. It is incredible that the songs that at one time people used to sing in the Polish backyards now continue to come back to us via America! It is incredible that, for example, Isaac Bashevis Singer's creative achievements also had to come to us the same roundabout way!

3. Polish young people should be given some idea about the history of the Jews, because only in this way is it possible to ward off the bloodthirsty calumnies about "ritual murders" or the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which have weighed so heavily on the fates of the two peoples.

Authorities Deny Solidarity Leader Passport

AU251833 Paris AFP in English
1817 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25 (AFP)—Polish authorities rejected a passport application on Thursday from Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, a leader of the banned trade union Solidarity.

Mr Frasyniuk had planned to accompany Solidarity leader Lech Walesa on a trip to Australia, where they have been invited to attend the congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Melbourne from March 14 to 18.

However, he told AFP that he was informed by authorities in the southwestern city of Wroclaw on Thursday that the invitation he had received did not conform to the regulation covering passport applications.

Mr Walesa, who works at the Gdansk shipyards, has still to apply for his passport. As a first step he must be granted time off from his work at the Gdansk shipyards, and this has yet to be approved.

Other Solidarity figures hoping to accompany Mr Walesa include Bogdan Lis, Zbigniew Bujak, and Bronislaw Geremek.

Youths Demonstrate in Support of Solidarity

LD251946 Hamburg DPA in German
1852 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Young people demonstrated in one of the busiest squares in the center of Warsaw on Thursday for the banned trade union Solidarity and the release of political prisoners. According to eye-witness reports, five people climbed up the scaffolding of a department store which was closed because of construction work. They held up a banner, shouting: "There is no freedom without Solidarity."

The police brought down the young people and their banner with the use of a ladder. A large crowd of onlookers gathered nearby. According to dissident circles, there are currently more than 20 prisoners detained for politically motivated actions. Approximately half of them are conscientious objectors.

Messner Attends OPZZ Executive Session

LD251341 Warsaw PAP in English
1304 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25—Another meeting of members of the Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) with representatives of the Council of Ministers started here today. A government report on the 1987 implementation of tasks stemming from the time-table of the realization of resolutions on stands and resolutions of the congress of the reborn Polish trade unions is the subject of today's debates.

The speeches by OPZZ Vice-Chairman Waclaw Martyniuk and Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda opened the discussion.

Zbigniew Messner and Alfred Miodowicz are taking part in the debates.

Further on Joint Session

LD260922 Warsaw PAP in English
0005 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 25—The Council of Ministers and the OPZZ (All Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) Executive Committee, during a joint session held here today, evaluated the realization of the goals following from the timetable of the realization of the resolutions and positions of the reborn Polish trade unions' congress. The document was adopted a year ago.

The meeting was co-presided by Zbigniew Messner and Alfred Miodowicz.

The Trade Unions' Opinion [subhead]

Trade unionists are voicing their support for adding dynamics to and stimulating the economy, even at the price of temporary disturbances of the equilibrium. The hitherto realization of the reform, according to the unionists, has not brought about a perceptible improvement of the working people's standard of living. On the contrary—last year it proved impossible to maintain the achieved standard of living and the level of real incomes.

Among the positive aspects of the realization of the congress's decisions included were, among other things, the drafting of legal documents pertaining to collective labour agreements and the coordination of the draft amendment of the law on enterprise wage systems.

As far as this year's price-income policy is concerned, trade unionists are doubtful whether the index of the growth of the remaining food products and other basic commodities, encompassed by contractual prices, will be maintained. The unionists reiterated their plea for the raising of wages in budgetary units and in the service sector.

Zbigniew Szalajda's Opinion [subhead]

The positive structural changes begun in the last years have been maintained and there occurred an improvement of the majority of indexes characterizing the effectiveness of management. On the other hand, noted was a slower, than in the preceding years, economic growth rate due to a drop in the level of agricultural production.

According to the deputy premier the purchasing power of the average wage, calculated without the effects of the price rises of alcohol and tobacco products, remained unchanged last year while there was a 5 percent real increase in old-age and disability pensions.

Food price hikes, lower than previously envisaged, have a certain, burdening significance for the future.

The deputy premier drew attention to the danger of levelling out remunerations, difficulties of some enterprises in the fulfilment of wage obligations and negative consequences in the budgetary sphere. Conclusions for the future must be drawn in order to prevent the wave of continually newer demands. In the field of monetary services we have allowed a great transgression to take place in comparison with the planned sums. This may signify a great threat to the market equilibrium. The government is counting on the help of the trade unions in stimulating additional output and arresting of economically unjustified wage increases.

Miodowicz's Address [subhead]

The essential issue is to maintain living standards. We have confided in the statement of the authors of the concept of the economic reform saying that it is aimed at keeping the level of real payments.

The fact is that labour is too cheap in the socialized economy, this being confirmed by the outflow of employees to the private sector. Trade unions look with concern at very high, often unjustified, profits of the private sector which develops owing to, among other things, beneficial state credits.

The economy is to be reformed in such a way that people should not feel that the quality of life has deteriorated. However, considerable inflation threatens us this year.

Messner's Recapitulation [subhead]

Possibilities of fully solving postulates forwarded by trade union movement and other social forces depend on increased production and national income.

The most important issue is the release of initiatives, faster increase in supply. Today the key to the success of the next steps of the reform is discipline of payments, consolidation of the motivating function of pays and keeping of relationship between payments and enterprises' financial situation.

The premier announced that after six months of this year a joint government-trade union assessment of the impact of official price hikes on living costs would be made.

Spanish Daily Interviews PZPR's Wasilewski

PM261128 Madrid YA in Spanish
22 Feb 88 p 10

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Culture Commission Chairman Andrzej Wasilewski by Mercedes Gordon; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] [Gordon] What kind of debate took place among the people and intellectuals following the surprising referendum result of 29 November?

[Wasilewski] There was a second part of the Party plenum that discussed ways of developing social pluralism and developing forms of representation and self-management of social democracy.

[Gordon] Lech Walesa's right-hand man, the prestigious historian, Geremek, considers these changes a regression.

[Wasilewski] There are no major differences between the initial program and that which we are now trying to implement. It was envisaged that the position of elected chairman of the municipal council and that of civil governor of a city would be merged into a single elective post. The difficulty of finding enough qualified cadres means that we still need to wait a while—and not out of any fear of elections.

[Gordon] There is very strong social protest over the price hikes.

[Wasilewski] It is logical and entirely understandable. Nobody likes prices hikes. The protests have neither degenerated into strikes nor been violent anywhere. They are largely due to a lack of information and to the slowness of the local administration, which was not prompt in paying the wage supplement to compensate for the price hikes.

[Gordon] The workers consider the supplement insufficient.

[Wasilewski] It is being negotiated. If an industrial complex has the funds to increase wages it can do so, but if it lacks them the state cannot provide them.

[Gordon] The West European communist parties are dying, while the ruling communist parties in East Europe are having to come to terms with a restructuring policy that conflicts with what they have been doing for the past half century. It is necessary to acknowledge the system's failure?

[Wasilewski] What the reform of socialism represents at present is a future outlook for this system in an introductory phase of changes and radical transformations. They will not produce results overnight because it is necessary to combat certain habits that have become deeply rooted over the course of several decades. The system has existed because of inertia but it was effective during the early years of the transformations, though it ceased to be so eventually. The reform should have come earlier. It is very difficult to discuss history, however.

[Gordon] Why are churches being constructed in Poland now?

[Wasilewski] Thousands have been constructed in recent years, in accordance with state policy on religious freedoms. What limits construction is the shortage of materials. They are financed not by the state but by parishioners. [Gordon] Why are you authorizing new publications such as KONTRASTY, which advocate a free market economy in line with the reforms that they want, while subjecting the intellectual and popular Catholic press to unjust restrictions on paper and print runs?

Dozens of Catholic publications have been established in recent years. All that limits the development of the entire press is the shortage of paper. To give one publication more paper you have to take it away from another. However, if a Catholic publication tells us it is going to obtain paper through its own resources there is no restriction on its increasing its print run. We have a very difficult economic situation, especially with regard to currency, and we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of importing any more paper at present.

[Gordon] It is said in Warsaw that it is easier for the government to grant freedoms to intellectuals than to the workers and that the workers and their trade union freedoms are feared.

[Wasilewski] Rural and workers circles do not support the democratization program because they do not fully understand it. For many workers and peasants the word "democracy" is linked with a concept of chaos and anarchy and they do not have this desire to increase freedoms. The working class of the major industrial complexes is more mature in its political and social thinking. The workers have a rather indifferent attitude toward the freedoms demanded by the intellectual groups.

[Gordon] I have heard that the Polish authorities are not permitting the screening of the movie, "The Life of Father Popielusko".

[Wasilewski] I can say that the authorities have not even received a request for this movie to be shown. Moreover, I am unaware even of the existence of such a movie.

[Gordon] Will opportunities exist soon for the clandestine pluralism now taking shape in Poland? I am referring to the Socialist Party and to the Solidarity people, including Lech Walesa.

[Wasilewski] We hope that the groups that regard themselves as the opposition will find a place within legal Polish pluralism. They have broad opportunities to express critical opinions, however advanced, regarding the government's policy. Groups must be formed to formulate alternative programs. What we will not accept are activities directed and paid for by foreign circles.

Party Organ on Economy's Private Sector

AU251816 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish Issue No. 12 signed to press 21 Dec 87 pp 99-111

[Marcin Swiecicki article: "Economic Reform Versus Political Principles"]

[Excerpts] The economic reforms in Poland and other socialist countries propose solutions that make people ask: "Will this really be socialism?" The theses on the second stage of the economic reform and the discussion about them have also induced some activists and scientists to become anxious about our political principles. Piotr Karpiuk's article "About the Theses on the Second Stage of the Reform," which NOWE DROGI carried in issue 8/87, is an example of this. We should not ignore such views. They are not surprising if, after dozens of years of various half-hearted attempts, the present economic reforms are really to be radical as avowed by the Polish and Soviet political leaderships. What is more, many reform proposals concern fundamental issues, such as property relations, the role of the state in the economy, the place of the market mechanism and the plan, and different sources and sizes of incomes. It has been proposed to base the mechanism through which the socialist economy operates on many principles that are different from those adopted for the traditional model developed after the elimination of the NEP. These new principles often seek to exploit the mechanisms mainly used by the developed capitalist countries, and this only increases the doubts of the traditionalists. Market mechanisms, shares, bonds, and convertible currency—will this really be socialism?

Similar doubts were raised by the introduction of the NEP in 1921, but this reform, which came overnight, was a much deeper breakthrough in the methods of economic management and ideas than the present reforms in the socialist countries. Many communists were astonished and shocked by the NEP. [passage omitted]

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in November 1922, Lenin positively evaluated the 18 months of the NEP and said that it would continue to operate in the future. As we know, it was Stalin who, after Lenin's death and having eliminated Bukharin and other adversaries of his policy, eliminated the NEP and the private sector and introduced the hierarchic management of the entire economy. It could be argued, as Karpiuk and others continue to do, that it makes no sense today to use the solutions that were made at an entirely different stage of the development of socialism. It certainly does not make sense insofar as details are concerned, but the thing is to realize that the so-called traditional model of the socialist economy, which Karpiuk wants to be preserved in its main outlines, is not the only possible model. The traditional model was created under specific conditions, and its potential has been exhausted to the end.

Recalling the NEP is also useful because from Lenin's activities we can learn how it is possible and necessary to introduce profound and radical changes in order to strengthen socialism, if it becomes obvious that even the solutions that are most consistent with the classic ideas about socialism fail to pass their test. When he introduced the NEP, Lenin had to explain many times over why direct transition to the communist principles of production and distribution was a serious error and had to argue that the new economic policy was meant to save and not to weaken the socialist economy. It is still necessary to use this argument today. [passage omitted]

The document entitled "The Lines of the Economic Reform" adopted by the Ninth PZPR Congress and the PPR Sejm contains the thesis that "equal development conditions" will be ensured for all sectors of the economy. This was to be the case with "the legal system, the principles of fiscal policy, and the principles of the allocation of producer materials and marketing" (thesis 16). In past years the principle of equality has been much more effective in agriculture than in other branches of the economy. The discussion on the second stage of the economic reform has again raised the issue of the manifold nature of the economy and of genuine equality. It has been proposed to add the sector of communal ownership to the state, cooperative, and private sectors, and proposals are being made to increase opportunities for setting up various mixed companies, including those with the participation of foreign investors. However, the private nonagricultural sector still remains the most controversial issue in realizing the principle that sectors should be able to compete on equal terms.

As a rule, those who oppose profound economic reform also oppose the development of the private sector. The importance of the non-public sector "should not grow," P. Karpiuk writes, because this would be in conflict with "efforts to strengthen the socialist economy." Is it really true that the development of the private sector in the nonfarming economy to an extent involving, say, 20 percent of the nonfarming manpower, as postulated by Professor Mieczyslaw Nasilowski and other experts, would be detrimental to socialism, at least in the foreseeable future?

The main argument against the private sector (aside from emotional prejudices) is that people working in it make large profits. This criticism is not at all based on the classic Marxist argument that the class of the owners of capital goods exploits workers, who have to work for poverty wages because they have no other choice under the economic conditions in which they live. It is common knowledge that in the developed socialist countries hired workers employed

in the private sector do not have to face the prospect of joining an army of unemployed if they lose their jobs, because many more jobs await them in the public sector. The reason why these workers prefer to work in the private sector is better wages and other conditions. That is why it would be arrant nonsense to say that the private sector exploits its hired workers. Still, people say is that the too great differences in incomes, no matter where they come from, violate the principles of socialist equality and that craftsmen's incomes are the result of price "hikes" and sharp practices. However, they forget a number of factors, including the fact that craftsmen commit their own capital, that their average working time is much longer than that of the average worker, and that sharp practices, thefts, and abuses harming the state and customers are nothing unusual in state enterprises. Appointed bodies are responsible for combating crime, and there is no reason to doubt that they are effective in doing so. [passage omitted]

The benefits produced by the private economic activities for the national economy and society are still being underestimated. I do not wish to cite familiar comparisons between the service standards and the supply of fruit and vegetables in Poland, and those in the socialist countries in which private enterprise was almost nonexistent not so long ago, but I wish to cite less familiar and yet eloquent examples of the results that the socialist economy can or could achieve from the equal treatment of the economic sectors outside agriculture.

A private computer firm, which is situated in the maritime area and which employs some dozens of people, was the first in Poland and perhaps in Eastern Europe to begin producing, without any state assistance whatever, the 32-bit computer for domestic use and for export. That firm has to pay high rates of taxation. The fact that the production of the computer in question is based mainly on imported computer elements from the Far East is nothing to be ashamed of, because this production has helped to overcome the U.S. embargo on such high-class equipment. At the same time, large state electronic combines have begun pushing the production of the 16-bit computer and continue to demand from the state extraordinary tax relief, large investment subsidies, the allocation of hard currencies at official exchange rates, and so on, and so forth.

Another example: A huge hothouse combine was built near Warsaw in the seventies, in order to compete with private enterprise. This project has become a financial fiasco, and the combine has to be subsidized to the tune of Z2 billion a year to be able to exist, while the private producers working nearby continue not only to make profits on their vegetables, but also to pay high taxes to the state.

Third example: The manager of an enterprise has asked a bank for a hard-currency loan in order to launch export production, and this was positively assessed by the bank's experts. This production would earn the state large amounts of hard currencies, and the producer would be able to claim hard-currency allowances and to promote the genuine development of his plant. However, the project fell through because regulations forbid the bank to grant a hard-currency loan to private enterprises.

It goes without saying that the development of private enterprise will not solve the problems of our metallurgical plants, mines, shipyards, refineries, fertilizer plants, and so on. Nevertheless, we should not put up artificial obstacles to private enterprise. There is no doubt that, given the necessary chance, private enterprise could successfully compete with the public sector in meeting the needs of the population and the economy.

On the other hand, the second stage of the economic reform should provide greater freedom of action for the public sector and should abolish the bureaucratic shackles that at times hinder the performance of the public rather than private enterprises. The order of the day should now be neither denationalization nor nationalization. The order of the day should be equality for all sectors.

Opposition to the equality of the private sector stems from deeply-rooted prejudices and from practices of the past period, and not from rational analysis. Let the economy lag in terms of innovation, let budgetary subsidies continue, let customers have less to buy, and let them grumble, but let us not allow private initiative to enjoy equal rights in the socialist state. Coming to terms with this "principled" approach is out of the question. As a political system Socialism is now strong enough not to be afraid of the development of private initiative, but it is too weak to afford the stifling of this initiative.

That is why a radical pro-market reform is not bound to increase the present differences in incomes in our country, which is what P. Karpiuk fears most. We can assume that some excessive incomes could be curbed under the new conditions—incomes such as mining wages, extraordinary profits made by private enterprise because of excessive risks and restricted competition, and unofficial allocations of apartments, cars, and other goods for rich people. The reformed taxation system can effectively control differences in incomes and encourage (and not discourage, as is the case nowadays) reinvestment and investing in social projects rather than in luxurious consumption.

All in all, the second stage of the reform makes it possible to search for solutions that reconcile the socialist principles of sharing, of social security, and of equal opportunities with individualism, innovative elan, and an enterprising spirit—qualities which are available to everyone, and not only to the small group of decisionmakers.

The operation of the market mechanism, including a tough fiscal regime vis-a-vis enterprises, will make it feasible to detach central planning from the need to intervene on innumerable occasions in petty economic matters, instead of concentrating on strategic issues. At the same time, under the new conditions opportunities

could be created to increase, wherever expedient, the efficiency of the intermediate instruments that influence the performance of the economy. The basic expansion of economic self-regulation in place of the bureaucratic-political system would supply socialism with new chances to compete with the capitalist system.

Party Secretary Discusses Sociopolitical Life

AU251508 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
13 Feb 88 p 2

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] KURIER LUBELSKI on 15-17 January published the following statement by Andrzej Szpringer, first secretary of the Lublin Voivodship PZPR Committee:

"I share the view that hot air is one of the biggest defects of our sociopolitical life. The most important voivodship echelons—the executive committee, the voivoda's team, the PRON Voivodship Council, the people's council presidiums, and other social organizations and advisory bodies—often discuss the very same issues and often meet for no other purpose than to set up yet another echelon, mostly some kind of commission, to solve a problem. It is also often that the same people staff those echelons and play either the role of comrades, or deputy voivodas, or chairmen, or honorary members. We continue to waste time on sham activities."

Press Cited on Revisionists, Stalinists

AU251520 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
20 Feb 88 p 2

[From the "Press Review"]

[Excerpts] WIADOMOSCI SKIERNIEWICKIE on 28 January published an interview with Professor Zdzislaw Grzelak, head of the Lodz Institute of Political Science, by Dorota Obidniak. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Obidniak] What are we really? Revisionists or Stalinists?

[Grzelak] A little of both. After all, the model in line with which our party functions is old, and it is needless to say how old. There is still more centralism than democratism in it, and there is still much room in the formula "the same party, but not quite the same" to be filled. This room should be filled by solutions that can democratize the party in line with the present times and needs. After all, the reciprocal relation between the party's elected bodies and its apparatus has still not changed to a real extent. Efforts to find new forms of the reciprocal relation between administration and the party are still inadequate. Must the party and administrative structures be really identical? It is the party above all that must reform itself. [passage omitted]

ITD on 7 February published an interview with Anna Pastusiak, daughter of Edward Ochab [former PZPR first secretary in 1956], by Piotr Grochmalski. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Grochmalski] You are very close to your father. What does he do during the day?

[Pastusiak] My father is still very active and often meets his friends to discuss international politics and Poland's domestic situation. My father has an official car and every morning leaves Warsaw together with some of his friends—with, say, Jedrychowski [former Politburo member] or Haber—to spend some hours in woods near Warsaw. He always asks his friends to analyze beforehand the issues he is interested in, for example, changes in world currency rates or German press reports about Poland. They then discuss these issues, and I think they do so because they are convinced that it is still their duty to be au courant with all events of the day and to respond to them. They want to share responsibility for what takes place in Poland.

Paper Comments on Belgrade Balkan Meeting

AU251441 Bucharest AGERPRES in Romanian 1517 GMT 25 Feb 88

["In the Interests of Growing Good Neighbourhood and Multifaceted Cooperation in the Balkans"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] The Balkan foreign ministers' meeting is unquestionably a highly significant event both for the peoples in this part of Europe and, generally, in the world, a commentary in SCINTEIA shows. The significance Romania attaches to this event, the Romanian people's attachment to the idea of inter-Balkan good neighbourliness and cooperation, its firm determination to tirelessly work along this line and the positive prospects for the further improvement of mutual ties and of the general political climate find an expression in the message Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed to the participants in the meeting.

Reviewing the innumerable initiatives and steps taken by Romania, by its president for the establishment of a climate of understanding and collaboration in the Balkans, for the transformation of this region into a nuclear and chemical-free zone, without foreign military bases and troops, initiatives which exerted a powerful political influence, helping to improve the political atmosphere and build up understanding, SCINTEIA writes: Worth mentioning in this respect is President Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal to call a Balkan summit.

The holding of the present meeting, which is a crowning of the steady efforts made by Romania and other Balkan states, is an undoubtedly positive event, as it is the first that gathers the representatives of all the Balkan states with no exception.

The constructive unfolding of this meeting is apt to help build up confidence and cooperation providing conditions for the good preparation and organization of the Balkan summit conference, a favourable framework for concrete and comprehensive measures and actions to deepen, intensify, and expand inter-Balkan relations.

Pointing out that the Balkan countries play an important part in the efforts toward disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, the newspaper opines that the transformation of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone would be of greatest importance, a goal in support of which Romania has consistently declared itself, convinced that this would go down as a constructive contribution to eliminating the serious threats posed to the continent and the world as a whole. More particularly in the present-day conditions, when prospects have been opened to diminish the nuclear threat in Europe, turning the Balkan Peninsula into a denuclearized area would have a far-reaching effect. Likewise, constantly declaring for the denuclearization of the Balkans, Romania and Bulgaria advanced a proposal in the declaration that contained the call of President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Todor Zhivkov for the creation of a chemical-weapon-free zone in the Balkans. A constructive contribution to the building of such a zone of peace and collaboration would also be made by dismantling foreign military bases and withdrawing troops.

The commentary evinces the special significance of multifaceted cooperation that specifies that experience has proved that, through concerted efforts, major goals can be successfully attained for the Balkan countries' economic progress, taking advantage of geographical proximity and working for the growth of economic, technical, scientific and cultural collaboration in the sphere of environmental protection and in other areas of mutual interest.

Romania has always maintained the idea that the only efficient way of approaching and solving interstate problems is dialogue, bi- and multilateral, held in the spirit of mutual respect and of political will for cooperation. The Belgrade meeting could be held precisely because the significance of such a way was acknowledged, and it was understood that various pending questions should not hinder a still broader political dialogue.

Romania takes part in the Belgrade meeting, inspired by the sincere wish to do everything in its power to help it be successful. Romania is convinced that any positive results would lead to developing multilateral relations among the Balkan countries and to opening new prospects for the establishment of a durable climate of good neighbourliness, security, and cooperation in the area, which harmonizes with the aspirations for peace and progress of the peoples in the Balkans, in Europe, and the world over, SCINTEIA shows in conclusion.

Cooperation, Trust Advocated

AU251654 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Feb 88 p 6

["Establishing Lasting Relations of Cooperation, Trust, and Good Neighborliness—a Basic Option of Peoples in the Balkans"]

[Text] "Let us turn the Balkans into an area of peaceful cooperation, let us develop cooperation to ensure each nation's socioeconomic development, and let us improve the well-being of each people!" Nicolae Ceausescu.

The importance Socialist Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu attach to establishing an atmosphere of broad cooperation, understanding, and good neighborliness in the Balkans is reflected both in the practice of political relations promoted by our party and state, by the constantly positive development of relations with the other states located at our national border, and by the numerous diplomatic initiatives and steps of wide international recognition. Through his excellent theoretical and practical activity, and through initiatives and new ideas, Romania's president has affirmed himself as an untiring and bold militant of the cause of friendship

among the Balkan countries and of turning this area into a zone of peace and good neighborliness, trust and cooperation, without any nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign troops and military bases. In this sense, President Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal is very important regarding the convening of a summit conference of Balkan countries to discuss, at a decisionmaking and higher level, both aspects of strengthening trust in this area, problems that still exist between some of the Balkan states, and the definition of certain actions to contribute to deepening cooperation and to improve the atmosphere in the Balkan Peninsula.

In their long history of unrest, the Balkan peoples seldom rejoiced in the blessings of peace and good neighborliness. Located at the crossroads of the big, rapacious, and selfish empires of the past, the Balkan Peninsula experienced successive occupations, the consequences of wars waged by others for interests alien to the peoples in this area, and domination through the ravage of fire and sword. Despite long-standing foreign enslavement and the cruel oppression by invaders, the Balkan peoples did not betray their soil, their language, or their nation. Being constantly and clearly aware of their national identity and always preserving their belief in freedom and national dignity, they always rose to the struggle, more resolutely each time, thus proving that people who are determined to defend their national existence by all means cannot be defeated, no matter how numerous or powerful the opponent is. In these struggles for defending their national dignity and for winning their freedom and independence, the Balkan peoples helped each other as good neighbors, thus writing glorious pages of solidarity. History contains numerous examples of this. This demonstrates that the idea of good neighborliness has long-standing traditions among the peoples in this region.

Today, as a result of persevering and long-standing efforts and general changes in the world, the historic stage has been surpassed when, as a result of the play of interests and discord sown by some big powers outside the Balkans, the peninsula was called the "powder keg" of Europe. Indeed, in the past decades, especially after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, important changes occurred in relations among the Balkan countries. Relations based on new and democratic principles were established, despite the fact that the states in this area have different social systems and belong to opposing—neutral or nonaligned—military alliances. Apart from bilateral political, economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation, forms of multifaceted cooperation have developed and diversified that are given an impetus by contacts at the highest level, thus creating favorable conditions for greater rapprochement among the Balkan countries. Recent developments toward normalizing relations between Greece and Albania, the political dialogue established between Greece and Turkey, intensified political contacts between various other Balkan countries, and the expansion registered by inter-Balkan economic exchanges and cooperation in various fields of common interest are all telling proof of this positive trend.

Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu have carried out an intensive and comprehensive activity to turn the Balkans into a zone of peaceful cooperation and active cooperation to ensure the socioeconomic development of each Balkan nation and to improve the well-being of each people in this region. In our country's opinion, relations of good neighborliness must be based on the new principles of respect for national sovereignty and independence, full equality of rights, noninterference in domestic affairs, renunciation of the use or threat of force, and mutual assistance. These are principles that are consistently promoted by Romania. They are included in the treaties of friendship, solemn declarations, and in all documents concluded with the countries in the Balkans, in Europe, and the other parts of the world. This set of principles—fully confirmed by life—which was recently adopted by very many countries as new principles of relations between states, is an indivisible whole and our country cannot conceive of these principles being ignored or one or the other being violated by any means or under any circumstances.

It is a well-known fact that Romania has good relations with all Balkan states and constantly acts to develop comprehensive ties in this region. The traditional meetings and talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and the other heads of state or government in the Balkan region as well as the official documents signed on these occasions with Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Turkey ensure lasting prospects for promoting mutual cooperation and strengthening bilateral and comprehensive ties among Balkan countries. All this has also had a positive influence on developing contacts between men of science, art, and culture from the countries of the region, something that has led to setting up and stimulating the activity of various permanent cooperation bodies of a specialized nature, such as the Balkan Medical Union, the Carpathian-Balkan Geological Association, the International Association of Southeast European Studies, and so forth. Our country has made an important and outstanding contribution to the proper development and organization of several inter-Balkan meetings and each time acted in a spirit of asserting the cause of friendship, cooperation, good-neighborliness, and peace in the Balkans. Romania has acted in this way with the firm conviction that these strivings for and norms of coexistence do not come by themselves, but rather imply a long process that requires time and political will on the part of each country in this region for concrete and direct steps to implement these major goals of the contemporary world. That is why, now, more than ever before, all states in this region should make a greater contribution to continuing the policy of detente and promoting relations of trust, good-neighborliness, and broad inter-Balkan cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, and cultural spheres.

The responsible and realistic tackling of problems in the Balkans has actually facilitated the convening of a meeting of foreign ministers from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and the host country in Belgrade, 24-26 February. In keeping with certain advance agreements, the meeting does not have a preset agenda. The

aim is to allow the participants unlimited freedom in tackling a larger number of problems and thus facilitate a free and broad exchange of views on ways and means to expand cooperation in fields of mutual interest, to put to better use the advantages offered by geographic proximity and by the complementary nature of the economies of the countries in this region, and to strengthen peace and understanding in the Balkans and throughout the world. This is the first meeting at foreign ministers level with the participation of all six Balkan countries, something that undoubtedly represents a particularly important political event for the Balkan area, for Europe, and for the entire world. Romania is determined to make its full contribution to the smooth development and successful conclusion of the Belgrade meeting, something which can open up new prospects for the renewing process under way in the Balkans and can mark a decisive step forward toward implementing Romania's proposal on the organization of a summit meeting of the Balkan states, which can take decisions and steps conducive to the fulfillment of the aspirations for peace and social progress of all peoples in this European region. "We speak out," President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized, "for holding a high level meeting of the heads of state and government from the Balkans, where we can jointly discuss new steps that should be taken to overcome existing problems, develop trust and economic and scientific-technical cooperation, bring about disarmament, and create a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans."

Of course, the climate in the Balkans has improved considerably, but there are still a number of problems where differences exist, something that makes it harder to satisfy the great requirement of all Balkan nations, namely disarmament—primarily nuclear disarmament—and turning the peninsula into an area of peace, devoid of chemical and nuclear weapons. Romania consistently aims at achieving this necessary and possible goal, particularly in the current international context when the number of declared nuclear-free areas and the number of proposals to set up similar zones in northern and central Europe has increased. The declaration of the Balkan Peninsula as a nuclear-free zone would undoubtedly go down as a particularly important joint contribution to achieving disarmament, consolidating trust and peace in this region and throughout the world, and eliminating the serious danger that jeopardizes the life of the whole mankind. In this context, it is necessary to mention the joint initiative of Romania and Bulgaria—launched in the Declaration-Appeal of Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov signed in 1985 in Bucharest—on creating a zone free of chemical weapons in the Balkans. This is yet more conclusive and telling proof of the fact that our entire foreign policy gives priority to the concerns with turning the region in which we live into a zone of peace and security, free of nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign military bases and troops.

Fully aware of the fact that each step forward along the road of ensuring the continuity of the process of inter-Balkan cooperation is an organic and integral part of building security and cooperation in Europe, Romania is determined, as President Nicolae Ceausescu recently said, to make its entire contribution to promoting and dynamizing this process, whose aim is to contribute toward fulfilling the aspirations and interests for peace, security, good-neighborliness, and cooperation of the Balkan nations and all peoples in the world.

Dascalescu Receives USSR's Vedernikov

AU251954 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1916 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/02/1988—Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, received on February 25 G.G. Vedernikov, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who is paying a visit to Romania.

During the interview, further measures and palpable actions were examined, apt to contribute to the development of economic, technical and scientific collaboration, to the expansion of cooperation in and specialization of production, to the growth and diversification of the commodity exchanges between the two countries, in line with the understandings reached during the summit Romanian-Soviet dialogue.

G.G. Vedernikov also conducted talks with Stefan Andrei, Ion Constantinescu, Constantin Radu, deputy prime ministers, Stefan Birlea, chairman of the State Planning Committee, and executives of economic ministries.

Ceausescu, Dascalescu Greet CSSR Leaders

AU242137 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2012 GMT 24 Feb 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/02/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, sent a telegram to the leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which reads:

On the 40th anniversary of the 1948 victory of the working people in Czechoslovakia we convey you, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people a warm comradely salute and the most sincere congratulations on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of the Romanian people and on our own behalf.

The 1948 victory of the working people, scored under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, an event of deciding importance for the destiny of the Czechoslovak people, was the crowning of the long fights to liquidate the capitalist system and paved the road to the building of the new, socialist society in your homeland.

The Romanian people follows with sympathy and sincerely rejoices at the Czechoslovak people's outstanding achievements in the 40 years in socioeconomic development, the growth of science and culture, the continuous rise in the standard of living.

Expressing high appreciation for the Romanian-Czechoslovak collaboration, we also voice our belief that the relations between our two parties and countries will develop further, in the spirit of the understandings reached at top level, in the interest of our two peoples, of the cause of socialism, progress and peace in Europe and in the world.

On this anniversary, we convey the Czechoslovak Communists and entire people, and you, personally, wishes of ever greater successes in implementing the resolutions of the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in your homeland's manysided development.

Gwiazda Meets Mikulic; Talks With Poland End

LD250153 Warsaw PAP in English
2331 GMT 24 Feb 88

["Polish-Yugoslav Cooperation Committee Ends Debates—By PAP correspondent Zbigniew Falecki"—PAP headline]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb. 24—The Polish-Yugoslav Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation debated between Feb. 22 and 24 under the co-chairmanship of Polish Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Wladyslaw Gwiazda and Yugoslav Member of the Federal Executive Council (government) Radoje Kontic.

The committee pointed to the necessity of intensification of industrial, scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries.

As concerns scientific and technological cooperation, progress has been made in mining and the power industry, agriculture, electronics, the engineering industry and metallurgy.

To give scientific and technological cooperation a long term character, the committee recommended the sides to start work on specifying the main lines and fields of this cooperation till the year 2000. The body also assessed that conditions existed for implementing more complex forms of such a cooperation.

Gwiazda and Kontic signed on Wednesday a protocol of the committee in question.

Also today Gwiazda was received here by President of the Federal Executive Council Branko Mikulic, who said that there existed many possibilities of the development of Polish-Yugoslav cooperation and stressed the Yugoslav side's willingness to expand it and enrich it with new forms.

On the same day Gwiazda met with President of the Federal Chamber of Economy Milan Pavic and with Federal Secretary for Foreign Trade Nenad Krekic.

FEC Decides To Close Some Embassies in Africa

LD252213 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—At today's session chaired by Janez Zemljaric the FEC examined the program of spring sowing of the Federal Committee for Agriculture and endorsed conclusions in this connection. [passage omitted]

On the basis of the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency and the FEC on economizing on the diplomatic-consular missions of Yugoslavia abroad a decision was adopted today on a temporary cessation of work of the embassies in Antananarivo (Democratic Republic of Madagascar), Bangui (Central African Republic), Brazzaville (People's Republic of the Congo), and the cultural and information center in Stuttgart.

The FEC also examined and endorsed a draft program of the development and program orientation of the macro-project "new international economic system" and a research program for this year within the framework of this project. This is in fact the continution of research in which all the leading Yugoslav institutes dealing with questions of economic relations and cooperation take part.

The FEC also examined problems in connection with the realization of the financial consolidation of the economy and banks in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo and endorsed a work program for this year.

Upcoming LCY Conference To Examine Role

LD252032 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The LCY conference cannot change the statute of the LCY, but it can and must offer a better and more clearly defined platform for finding a way out of the crisis. Thus it is going too far, Radisa Gacic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said in today's conversation with journalists, to expect it to be "a small congress," just as it is going too far to think that its scope is limited.

In the debate about the place and role of the LCY Central Committee, which is on the agenda of the next LC session, the highest party forum will be directly involved in preparing for the LCY conference, Gacic added. This will be an opportunity not only for a critical analysis of the work of the LCY Central Committee over the last 2 years but also for establishing to what extent the causes of the failure to implement the conclusions of the 13th LCY Congress lie in the work of the Central Committee and to what extent it contributes to the strengthening of LC unity and acts as a factor of synthesis.

SAWPY Presidium Session Meets 25 Feb

Hears Mikulic Address

LD252242 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1427 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The supply of the Yugoslav market with basic products is generally satisfactory. Occasionally washing powder and individual kinds of medicines are not to be found, but here too the situation is gradually getting back to normal. This was said at today's session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium.

Aleksandar Donev, federal secretary for markets and general economic affairs, drew attention to the fact that industry is increasingly often acting contrary to FEC decisions on prices, and that market inspectors are not

able to introduce order by themselves. Despite the proclaimed "freeze" in the stores there are goods whose prices have increased by as much as 300 percent. [passage omitted]

Taking part in the debate, FEC President Branko Mikulic warned that it should be borne in mind that the economy also behaves in nonmarket ways. Thus it happens that businesses return goods to the manufacturers because of a decline in demand, while a way out continues to be sought in reducing production and increasing prices. The FEC, Mikulic stressed, wants to fix prices least of all. It should also be borne in mind that it is precisely through price relations that the merciless incomes war is being conducted, instead of this being done through raising productivity and similar measures.

Last year, the FEC president added, a decision was adopted to the effect that the prices of milk, bread, and similar products were to be "transferred" to republics, provinces, and municipalities. On the same day the prices "jumped," and they tried to convince us in republics and provinces that these price increases would cause considerable social tensions.

Speaking about a possibility of imposing tax on so-called extra income, Mikulic sought assistance from the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium for an agreement to be reached concerning this matter. Everyone is now protecting their own interests and "their own" republic or province. And when it is agreed to impose tax on extra income it is on condition that tax remains in a republic or province in which taxed goods are produced, though they are sold on the territory of the entire country.

Basically supporting calls for a greater liberalization of imports, Mikulic warned that the country at present does not have a material base for a greater opening up toward imports. However, one should strive toward this possibility because Yugoslav economy is monopolized to a considerable extent. Branches and associations are agreeing about prices, which is illegal, and only afterward are negotiating with the FEC, and competition would be welcome.

I believe, Mikulic continued, that we need to sit down and calmly talk over some matters and differences. This first and foremost refers to the prices policy, foreign exchange system, credit-monetary policy and general, joint and personal consumption. All together this is a precondition for "curbing" inflation, without which there can be no economic recovery or the halting of the stratification of the population.

In this morning's part of the session the Presidium was also briefed on a report on negotiations with foreign creditors and the IMF concerning the rescheduling of the Yugoslav debt capital. It was noted that our readiness for consistent and implementation, without of the adopted orientations contained in the Anti-Inflation Program is particularly important for the successful outcome of the negotiations, as well as for the changes which started to be introduced in the restructuring of the country's economic system.

In the afternoon's part of the session a discussion is being held on attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army. [passage omitted]

Views Economy, Attacks on Army

AU252151 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Supplies of consumer goods are better than at the end of last year. However, concern is caused by the fact that less is being produced and everybody wants to push up prices. This, among other things was noted at a session of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference. The Presidium included on its agenda the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army that have become more frequent in some information media recently. Momcilo Boskovic reports:

Judging by what was said by the introductory speaker, Ljubisav Markovic, and by Aleksandar Donev, federal secretary for market and prices, supplies of consumer goods to the people were good at the beginning of 1988. This especially refers to food, and supplies of medicines and baby food also improved. However, it appears that 200,000 tonnes of corn will be imported because of shortages. It is obvious that this need not have happened, had sufficient quantities been purchased in the fall. In fact, 123,000 tonnes were imported during the harvest, Branko Milovanovic said. According to him, we often decide to import produce that are available at home, and it is understandable that agricultural producers protest.

Taking part in the discussion, FEC President Branko Mikulic said that the way out of the present grave economic situation is not being sought through increased production, but through reduced production and higher prices. The greatest problem in overcoming the present difficulties is how to combat inflation. Speaking about organization of the Yugoslav economy, Mikulic added:

[Begin Mikulic recording] We must recognize the fact that the Yugoslav economy is often organized in monopolies or oligopolies. What are our industrial branch associations? They reach agreements on prices, they have become negotiators vis-a-vis the FEC, but the law forbids this. The law rules this out. All the communities make requests for price increases. There is no individual producer. There is no competition within a branch of industry. I think that these are serious disturbances in the domestic market that have been created over many years. [end recording]

Why did the agenda include the attack on the Yugoslav People's Army in some information media? Milojko Drulovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference,

provided an explanation. One must not facilely pass over grave accusations against our Army, because they have serious consequences for the respect and dignity of our Armed Forces.

Milan Daljevic, president of the Coordination Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, spoke about the kind of attacks and about the newspapers that carry the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army.

[Begin Daljevic recording] MLADINA and NOVA REVIJA lead the way, and so do KATEDRA, TRIBUNA, TELEKS, AND STUDENTSKI LIST. Articles of tendentious contents may sometimes be found in some other media, most frequently in the so-called youth press or entertainment magazines and reviews, such as NON, MLADOST, POLET, STUDENT, and DUGA. In my opinion, the essence of the attacks directed against the concept of the defense and the Yugoslav People's Army, including the latest attacks, is anti-Yugoslav and ultimately anti-communist. Looked at in general, they aim at changing our self-managing and federal system, destroying Yugoslavia as an independent, nonaligned, and unified country. [end recording]

The SAWP of Croatia supports the stances and assessments of the SFRY Presidency as regards the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army, Marijan Kalanj said. It is obviously a case of an escalation of a special war against Yugoslavia, Nijaz Skenderagic opined. Some people are perturbed by ideological unity of the Yugoslav People's Army. It is not a matter of a group of mischievous boys, but of a premeditated action.

In Slovenia, we unequivocally denounced the content and the form of such insulting and unsupported writing against the Yugoslav People's Army, Joze Smole said. We believe that the Presidium of the SAWP Republican Conference made a clear statement and took a position, and there is no need now for every sociopolitical organization separately to adopt a view. I am in favor of a realistic discussion. Smole objected to grave reproaches addressed to the leading people of Slovenia. This is a bad method and it may cause disagreements among us, and surely nobody wants that, Smole concluded.

Azra Muhefendic reports on the continuation of the discussion:

Bogdan Trifunovic said that articles like those in MLADINA cannot be treated as a part of democratization of public discussions. The aim of such attacks is only to show the inability of the socialist forces and the untenable nature of the present Yugoslav community, Trifunovic said.

Bogdan Pecotic said that the veterans take a very serious view of these attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army and are very concerned about them. We are convinced that it is a matter of definite political platforms from which (?these attacks) against the Yugoslav People's Army (?are activated).

Istvan Rajcan assessed the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army as an attempt to start another crisis in the system. Franc Setinc said that he sharply opposes the idea that the Yugoslav People's Army become a standing target, but he is not in favor of searching for the political culprit among the Slovene leaders.

MLADINA Article on Mamula Ethiopian Visit

AU251744 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene No. 6 12 Feb 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Mamula Go Home!"]

[Text] We can imagine in whose heart Africa sings these days....

We can very vividly imagine an African socialist tyrant, who has been convinced by specialist magazines that sing the praises of the quality of Yugoslav semiautomatic rifles, self-propelled multibarrel rocket launchers, and copies of famous Soviet tanks. Because he obviously could not decide on all the offered wealth of destruction simply over the telephone, he invited the lethal-goods sales manager to be his guest. Unfortunately, the latter was hoist by his own petard and the discreet charm of summit business dissolved into thin air. Nevertheless, Admiral Mamula's little slip, revealed to the world public, will not even accidentally put the skids under him. Rather, he will take the next step and beat the possible British, American, French, or Russian competitors in Uganda to the post.

Television viewers at home are used to seeing the picture of the supreme commander of the armed forces on Army Day, and at worst on the occasion of some other paracivilian state holiday as well. The picture of Admiral Mamula (in the bold posture of a dynastic militarist) illustrating the report on how a profitable contract was won had at least a grotesque effect, too shocking for those who are morally more sensitive. What if, for starters, the respective public prosecutor were to file charges against Mamula for alarming the public? Had Mamula been just a private arms dealer (like Mr Schmitz from Malmoe), we would denounce his moral attitude in exactly the same way, but the guilt of the Yugoslav Armed Forces commander is even greater, because he sells rifles with flowers of nonalignment stuck in the barrels, and he puts on a false smile and speaks about noninterference in internal affairs, defense of one's own stability, and so forth. It was damned clear to Mamula why, or against whom, Yugoslav arms will be used in Ethiopia and Uganda: They will be used in a civil war or against domestic guerrillas.

The Yugoslav legal arms exporter SDPR [Federal Directorate for Commodity Reserves] justifies its deals with economic efficiency and is guided merely by the maxim: "If we do not do it, somebody else will." But of course it never asks itself why that certain somebody else would not want to do it. Yugoslav exporters boast that they earn more foreign exchange with arms exports than the

tourism industry earns, which is a simple, banal, and cynical demagoguery: The "civilian" economy (or rather civil society in general) derives no profit from the military industry, "civilian" enterprises at most produce for military purposes and (of course) do so under military control.

After the public learned about the dirty business, this wretched and miserable act, unworthy of any military commander, required a semi-anonymous ("duty") apology from Belgrade (which, of course, is an apology only as demagoguery): Yugoslavia also sends food to Ethiopia. The military commander who "cannot rise above his own evil," and who cannot at least turn the fact that he is a merchant of death to his own advantage (or simply disappear from his position), does not even deserve the respect of his soldiers. You need not believe the scholastics of Jehovah's Witnesses; insubordination in Mamula's army does not require any special excuse, but disdain at most!

Slovene Youth Presidium Debates MLADINA

AU251855 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 88 p 8

[V. Rupar report: "Between Support and Criticism"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Feb—Although it stated that a thorough analysis of MLADINA's work in the past year does not exist, the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene Youth Organization concluded that, on the whole, this magazine has created room for democratic dialogues, that it has started discussions about some important social issues, and that it has contributed toward dispelling an atmosphere in which some people aspired to have a monopoly on the truth.

The Presidium was also of the opinion that there were mistakes and omissions in MLADINA, and that there were unprincipled, insulting, and incorrectly edited articles that encroached upon the integrity and dignity of some individuals and organs. This primarily refers to certain articles about the Yugoslav People's Army, among which the most striking is the editorial entitled "Mamula Go Home."

Today's discussion alternated between support and criticism. Petar Bekes, president of the Publishing Council, who also attended the meeting, in pointing to MLADINA's contribution in extending democracy to other newspapers, warned that the lack of professionalism and ethics in the treatment of some subjects is being repeated, that the editorial board is not removing these weaknesses, and that, if there is no radical change, he does not see any purpose in remaining a member and president of the Publishing Council. Bekes was also of the opinion that, by these omissions, MLADINA has again narrowed down the room for democratic dialogue and that it has therefore become the "excuse for opposition to everything democratic in Slovenia."

Opposing the calls for a "pogrom against and a squaring of accounts with" MLADINA and for a cadre reshuffle in the editorial board, the Presidium concluded that cadre changes are nevertheless necessary. It was of the view that new people should be introduced in the editorial board.

The Presidium agreed with the view of the Publishing Council that more information is needed about foreign policy and the Yugoslav People's Army (the fact that sources of information are closed causes superficiality in the treatment of these topics), and with the proposal that the Federal Secretariat for National Defense explain the real reasons for Mamula's visit to Ethiopia.

A discussion was also held about some misunderstandings in Yugoslavia at large and there were calls for talks about the responsibility of other newspapers in presenting MLADINA'a articles, but, after Ingrid Baksa remarked that some initiatives have become legitimate only in Slovenia but not in the whole of Yugoslavia, it was concluded that this should be left to newspapers and to the founders of the newspapers in question.

Slovene Defense Body Calls Attacks Groundless

LD242023 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 24 Feb 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—The attribution of some militarist characteristics to the Yugoslav defense concept is quite groundless and is a consequence mainly of the fact that it is not well known. Not infrequently it is also the result of a deliberately erroneous interpretation of the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection. The role and the task of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], all-people's defense and social self-protection are clearly defined by their main objective: defense of the country against a possible aggressor. This was stressed during the meeting today of the chairmen of the all-people's defense and social self-protection commissions of the municipal and university LC committees in Slovenia.

The participants in the meeting were briefed on the discussions concerning the changes in the SFRY Constitution and discussed a series of questions of organization, training, and education in the YPA, all-people's defense, and social self-protection this year. During the meeting reference was once again made to the increasingly little interest of young people in Slovenia in military vocation, which, it was said, was mainly a consequence of the unsatisfactory socioeconomic position of these professions.

The chairman of the all-people's defense and social self-protection commission of the LC university conference drew attention to the fact that the resistance of young people in Slovenia to national military service has been more frequent since the time when, in accordance with the law, they began to do their YPA service after

completing their secondary school studies. Previously there had been no such resistance to the military service among the Slovene student youth.

Journalists on BORBA-POLITIKA Polemics
AU251608 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 88 p 4

[Report by a team of unnamed BORBA correspondents: "A Dialogue With Two Ends"]

[Excerpts] Sparks flew during the polemics last Friday [12 February] on the second day of the action conference of journalists who are members of the LC.

The series of rejoinders was started by Ljiljana Bulatovic and Savo Krzavac. BORBA carries in full the polemics. [passage omitted]

Muja Derabegovic: We Had a Premonition in April [subhead]

As far as the Agrokomerc affair and the assertion that the media in Bosnia-Hercegovina were late or failed—if I understand Torov correctly—then I shall present only the fact that it was in April that OSLOBODJENJE reported on, that is, had a premonition or hinted at, the Agrokomerc affair, or rather, the affair involving bills of exchange. Sarajevo Radio and the other media in Bosnia-Hercegovina behaved in the same way as the other Yugoslav media. We have not claimed that we performed the task best nor that we were the worst. [passage omitted]

Savo Krzavac: An Attempt To Revise [subhead]

Within a short time we heard two BORBA journalists, one of them the deputy chief editor, and I understood that it would have been a good thing if we had excluded the LC from this debate of ours, using the method that is more or less used by BORBA itself. As a rejoinder I would raise the following question, which Comrades Torov and Bilbija, as well as some other comrades from BORBA should answer: How is it that after more than 30 years a Djilas-type ideology [Milovan Djilas, former member of top leadership expelled at party plenum at Brioni in 1954] is being offered on the pages of BORBA again as a model of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia? This is the first question.

Second question: What is the position of BORBA—the famous name of communist journalism, a paper that was founded in 1922, published during the dictatorship, and continued in Uzice and after the war as the party organ—when it tries to revise the party assessment of liberalism of the seventies? What does it want with the political rehabilitation of the group of philosophers and those people who rallied around the periodical PRAXIS? What does BORBA, together with DANAS, want with its continuous and persistent negative attitude to the leadership of the SR of Serbia in the campaign carried out before and after the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee? Why did BORBA allow its famous name to be manipulated by certain centers when it was awarded the prize as the newspaper of the year with the same criteria being used as when awarding the prize to the best journalist [Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA proclaimed BORBA the best newspaper and Jelena Lovric of DANAS the best journalist in 1987]? This manipulation by certain centers and headquarters includes the support BORBA extended to the president of the journalists association [reference to Jug Grizelj, president of the Serbian Journalists Association, who was criticized recently] and the prize awarded in return to the BORBA chief editor as the best editor in Yugoslavia. And I assume that the circulation and leadership can best demonstrate the quality of a newspaper. This is what I wanted to say. [passage omitted]

Djuro Bilbija: Enemies Are Not Everywhere [subhead]

I would like to say something about what Savo Krzavac said a while ago. First something in general. Everything that I said in general referred in fact to what my newspaper and I are doing. In a manner which I would not like to be used in my vicinity, and by no means by my friends and my party, Savo Krzavac said so many things which are not true—and had they been true, the situation would have been very sad—so that I thought first that it would be best not to react at all, as what he said is commentary in itself. [passage omitted]

Savo Krzavac: Setinc Is a Journalist [subhead]

I have become used to this kind of polemics, so I shall ask only one question I forgot to ask before. Where does this anticommunism in a communist newspaper come from? Comrades from BORBA owe us an answer to this question, too. And as far as this matter is concerned, as a journalist and a man who is paid for his work in the sphere of information, I shall try to prove these words of mine only by citing texts carried by BORBA in the past 6 months. For instance, I find it surprising that Comrade Bilbija, who otherwise spoke nicely, said that it bothers him that Comrade Setinc had made a speech at this meeting. For Setinc is one of the first-class journalists in Yugoslavia who nowadays write for newspapers almost every week, even more than many of us here do. And Bilbija is bothered by the fact that Setinc is a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and is in charge of press affairs. Secondly, does Slobodan Jovanovic not also earn his living from newspapers, from writing for newspapers and editing them? Do editors differ from journalists and is there only one journalist—I mean you—in the working presidium? Every one here works for newspapers. Let us see, Marko [not further specified] is a journalist, this one is director, Vukasin Micunovic used to be director of BORBA.... Therefore, I promise the comrades from BORBA that I shall present evidence of what I said to them.

Milan Rakas: Leave It to Communists [subhead]

Although it probably has nothing to do with the rules of procedure, I have intentionally asked that I be allowed to speak before Comrade Sava [Krzavac]. The reason is the following: whoever has been following the disputes about POLITIKA and between POLITIKA and BORBA, could quite clearly perceive that they could have much more far-reaching consequences than disputes between two publishing houses. I have always tried as much as possible as much as possible above all else, regardless of where I have worked. My comrades in BORBA know this. I said that it was unacceptable that we publish the sin attributed to POLITIKA precisely on the day of their celebrations; and that it was unacceptable not to mention the day of their celebration and not carry even a report. And this is then returned in kind, in an uncommunist and uncomradely way by POLITIKA, in the way it started, by saying that BORBA circulation is less than the number of POLITIKA's returned copies.

When one starts speaking like this, one knows that there can be no agreement. This is not the way for Communists and colleagues to discuss things. I wrote as much to my friend, the director of POLITIKA, the following day. I asked for a talk, and we are preparing for it. Let us sit down, the communists of BORBA, for it so happens that we are in the same place, and this also has its consequences. I must say that it has recently even had material consequences for both houses. No individual may play with the future of these two houses, which employ about 10,000 people. And this is now being aggravated to a point.... I would ask this conference to leave it to the Communists of POLITIKA and the Communists of BORBA, and to their working people and self-management organs, to discuss these matters and solve them very quickly. I feel that there is more conceit and human misunderstanding here than real communist misunderstanding about principles. [passage omitted]

Ivan Torov: I Spoke in My Own Name [subhead]

First, I spoke as a journalist of BORBA and a communist. Therefore Comrade Rakas' intervention was not necessary. I mean I did not speak on behalf of the LC basic organization or on behalf of BORBA.

Secondly, I wish to thank my comrade from Sarajevo for revealing that the Agrokomerc affair was "uncovered" in April. I still think it was in August. Thirdly, I did not mention any national formulas, and I never even thought of them or alluded to them. Fourthly, I really think that if Comrade Krzavac mentions me in the context of listing some of BORBA's so-called sins, which have nothing to do with my speech, this certainly is not in order. We should stick to what I have said. These are the facts that are evident and that, after all, we all know more or less. [passage omitted]

Mladen Krnic: We Are No Conspiracy Center [subhead]

I have nothing against it, and I think that it would be useful if the comrades from BORBA and POLITIKA were to agree whether there was something to discuss about their relationship or not, and they should sit down at a table somewhere and talk about it; but here a third party appears that has been called a center of conspiracy awarding prizes for reasons of manipulation.

This center has not been named, but I will tell you here that this so-called conspiracy center is the SLOBODNA DALMACIJA editorial office. I would only wish to inform you in a short sentence and to assert that the SLOBODNA DALMACIJA editors are no conspiracy center, but they have committed a very serious sin. They wrote about Sava Krzavac in a way that quite certainly was not to his liking.

Macedonian Conference 'Denounces' Split Media

LD242201 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 24 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Skopje, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—At its session today (chaired by Metodi Petrovski) the Presidium of the Macedonian SAWP republican conference sharply denounced the part of the Split speech by Azem Vlasi, president of the provincial conference of the Kosovo LC, that referred to the position of othe Albanian nationality in the SR of Macedonia. Having put this issue as an emergency item on the agenda of their routine session, presidium members stressed that the Albanian nationality in the SR of Macedonia enjoys all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the law and that the paternalism displayed by individuals from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo merely makes the battle to suppress Albanian nationalism and separatism more difficult and helps the sinister work of the separatists.

In a lively debate in which 10 or so presidium members took part it was pointed that there is a clear line between the equality of nations and nationalities and a threat to intranational trust and the right of other nations and nationalities to live in this environment. In Macedonia—it was said—an increasingly vigorous battle is fought against Albanian separatists, who in one way or another are trying to wreck the Yugoslav community of equal nations and nationalities. It was said that with his statement Azem Vlasi literally was encouraging Albanian separatists, violating intranational relations in the republic, disqualifying the leadership of the SR of Macedonia, and insulting the constitutional system in this republic and everything achieved in it in the area of equality among the nations and nationalities.

Several participants in the debate pointed out that Vlasi's speech had a particularly negative effect because it was delivered immediately prior to the conference of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries. Individual participants in the discussion were of the opinion that the timing and the statement itself were not at all fortuitous. [passage omitted]

Several participants in the debate pointed out the need to clear up completely in a principled manner and by putting forward cogent arguments the unfounded and unprincipled accusations made by Azem Vlasi. Brotherhood and unity and the equality of our nations and nationalities must go on being built and developed, and no one should be allowed to wreck the achievements of the revolution, no matter who he is or where he comes from.

The presidium adopted a special statement in which it denounces and sharply reacts to Azim Vlasi's speech in Split.

At their meeting today the presidium members sharply denounced also the enemy statements in "MLADINA" and "NOVA REVIJA" which attacked the Yugoslav People's Army, the Yugoslav all-people's defense system, and our togetherness as a whole. The presidium pointed out the need for this kind of activity by the media to be discussed by the LC Central Committee. It was also pointed out that individual leaders in Slovenia should not merely dissociate themselves declaratively from these anti-Yugoslav manifestations, but should take the necessary measures to prevent such activity. The authors of such texts and the editors who allow them to be printed, as well as the members of the social councils of the editorial boards should be forced to take responsibility for these texts. [passage omitted]

Daily Views Trade Union Activity

AU251749 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 88 p 2

[V. Simonovic commentary: "Help, Strike!"]

[Text] Have our politicians, in refusing until recently to call a strike by its real name, persistently tried to preserve their vision of a self-managing socialist society free of conflicts? The affirmative answer to this question also justifies the most uncompromising view which we have not yet fully clarified—that is, that workers in fact strike against themselves, as the working class is in authority. Using this logic we could also ask the question—is the awareness of the ruling working class so low that it has brought itself almost to the position of a casual worker? The increasing number of strikes shows that such logic, according to which nothing exists that is not written in the Constitution or in any of our numerous laws, is totally absurd. And one more fact: The conflict between the working class "in authority" and the real authorities is intensifying.

However, the political bureaucracy has for now only yielded a little bit. Many people have seen in this, as in other minute changes in the Law on Associated Labor, a first step toward the legalization of strikes. Strikes will not be accepted for a long time, as these small concessions are not a kind of turnabout in the consciousness of the political-bureaucratic apparatus, but, one could say, something quite different.

Even if we call the strikes sheer extortion of higher incomes, they are developing into a real strike movement. We should not be surprised if we hear tomorrow that the workers of one whole sector are on strike. Some people think that they have sufficient reason to claim that strikes could grip an entire republic or individual regions of Yugoslavia. All this shows that confidence in the people whose mouths are full of self-management and who speak from political platforms about a better life, is wearing thin. In brief: The state and its bureaucratic machinery have become so strong that self-management has reached the very edge of an abyss, while the whole of society was pushed into a difficult social and economic crisis a long time ago, which inevitably leads to open social and class conflicts. The fear that these public expressions of worker dissatisfaction could shake the positions of officials at all levels and in all directions, has turned into a secret cry for help. The trade unions are being called on to help.

Thus, the trade unions have again entered the political stage from the underground, or should do. It can be heard from assembly, party, and government platforms that at this moment they have an almost historical role. Let us remember that not so long ago this class organization of workers (which we rarely mentioned) was only good for cheap winter food supplies, subsidized summer holidays, personal aid, and similar things. In such a climate, reactions to the strike regulations being prepared by the Slovene trade unions, are understandable—as if this is just one more way in which bureaucratic control is established over the workers and the workers' movement is suppressed. The regulations themselves, without any change in meaning or direction, or fundamental transformation of trade union activity cannot mean anything other than an attempt at bureaucratic control over the workers.

The Slovene trade unions have already announced a "revision," so time will very quickly tell (circumstances are such) who was right.

The trade union leadership which our politicians—and not only them—equate with the trade unions themselves, is in an unenviable position: Should they protect the state from the workers or the workers (their membership) from the state? This position would nevertheless not be so bad if the class workers organization were "to exploit" the space that the state has given it, and turn to the side where it belongs—toward the workers. The mistrust which the workers have loudly expressed because of the leadership's role of "home help" or state and party hanger-on, which it has hitherto played, should not be allowed to obscure the way.

Trade union activists have been offered two hands—one is calloused the other is smooth. Surely it is not only their fate that will depend on which hand they take.

Macedonian Assembly Criticizes Vlasi

AU251251 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 88 p 1

[S. Paskovski report: "Irresponsible Attack on Equality"]

[Text] Skopje, 23 Feb—The delegates of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Macedonian Assembly today discussed for several hours the speech Azem Vlasi, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, made in a discussion forum in the Marxist Center in Split. Numerous and sharp criticisms were made.

Petar Karajanov pointed out in particular that the activities on curbing Albanian nationalism and separatism cannot be regarded as the "processes of restricting the rights and position of the Albanian nationality."

Delegate Milan Horvat said that if Vlasi's speech was a mistake, he should have dissociated himself from it, or supported it with arguments. Predrag Kusevski, president of the Internal Policy Committee, called for the establishment of Azem Vlasi's responsibility on the state, and especially party lines for the speech he made in Split.

"We are carrying out repressive measures against Albanian nationalists and not against the Albanian nationality, and therefore we do not need paternalism from Kosovo. The counterrevolution cannot be curbed by only political means. The members of the Albanian nationality and all the working people and citizens of Macedonia are insulted by Vlasi's speech, particularly because he is a top official and a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. This is the most serious attack on the policy of the equality of the peoples and nationalities which is being carried out in Macedonia. Vlasi's responsibility for making fabricated assessments should be established, but if these assessments are found to be correct, then we should call the organs and leadership of Macedonia to account," Kusevski said and added that Vlasi could have expressed his opinion and the opinion of the Kosovo leadership in Macedonia or in the highest party leadership. His conduct was opportunistic. By his speech Vlasi has caused great damage to the efforts for curbing Albanian nationalism in Macedonia.

Mustafa Ilker said that the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium recently discussed Vlasi's speech and concluded that it was undoubtedly politically damaging. The Presidium of the Macedonian LC Central Committee will initiate a discussion about this in the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Cedo Stojkoviski was of the opinion that Vlasi's speech was a result of the earlier conducted policy and the building of ideas about Macedonia in Kosovo. Ismail Fahri said that the Albanian nationality in Macedonia was offended by the speech.

The delegates agreed that Vlasi's speech was irresponsible, arbitrary, and unsubstantiated.

END OF FICHE

DATE FILMED

29 Feb. 1988